ARCHÆOLOGIÆ
ATTICÆ
LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEAVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING,

The description of the Citties glory, Government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, account of the Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories, as also of their Customes in Marriages, Burialls, Feastings, Divinations, &c.

By FRANCIS ROUS Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon.*

The THIRD EDITION Much enlarged.

ARISTIDES.

Περιαλειφθὲν τὰς ἀκοὰς, ὑπερχόμενα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔργον ὅ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμεθα, λέγειν. *When others have in the same Argument preoccupated mens eares, they that speake afterward of the same subject, have a greater trouble to consider what they must passe by unsaid then what to say.*

OXFORD,
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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
Sir NATHANIEL BRENT Knight
Vicar Generall, and the moſt vigilant
Warden of Merton Colledge in
OXFORD, *Health, &c.*

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication, to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy. It ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whoſe ignorance is not ſo great but

well knowes that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; and ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind; and ſet as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings, be ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knowes * how to pardon the bold adventures of learning I preſent you therefore with *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſsimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained. Which of all men, I my ſelfe am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon; * which flouriſht in eloquence, & brave atchievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* Whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

* Auſis literarum ignoſcere Vegetius in Prolog.

* Cic. Epiſt. * Patercul in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by * *Lybſius* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Univerſity, though by me offe ed, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our daies accounted durt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero. Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admedum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt. By whoſe penſills wee ſee drawne the lively Images of deceaſed Monarchs, the formes of goverment, and very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have been taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeeme a ſpurious and de-

* Apud Dicæarchum Ἐμὶ μὴ τὰ δίαπτα τὰς Ἀθήνας, σίλεχον εἶ.

generate ofspring. Upon preſumption of which I feare not, as the Eagles doe their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton Colledge* June 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROVS.

To the Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me runne hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of Schoole-maſters, who undertake to read the Greeke Orators to raw Schollers, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick cuſtumes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage me that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For

I am not of thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their errors are told them If this pleaſe it ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this courſe intended; and as occaſion may give leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia, Ἀκτικὴ. Ἀκτὶς. Ἀκτή. *Athenæ in actâ, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ, Athis, Attica, Athenæ sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re sententia, alii sub Erechtheo volunt nominari, Justinus sub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satinæ. Sethina.*

BY the sonnes of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided into their lands, every one after his tongue; whē by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to posterity, by building Castles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth; hee having so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a faire wind: hoyst then they mūst their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plain in the land of *Shenar*, seek out some new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, & yet still must journey. Each one in as different a course, as of a divers language. The sons of *Shem* their way, the sons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai* & *Iavan*, with whom I purpose one furlong [a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keepe company, leaving the rest on one side or other or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. [b] Ἀπὸ δ Ἰαυὰν Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐκλήθησαν. From *Iavan* came *Ionia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*: in *Daniel* twice, [c] *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia shall come*. And againe, [d] *Hee shall stirre up all against the Realme of Grecia*. Where although the old translation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is so found in the originall. He then coming into the country called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Ias*. [e] Ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Ionias and Ias*. In which words wee still retaine some reliques of the radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the *sonnes of Iavan* were stiled *Jaones*, wee shall come neerer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἰάονας — πρὸ Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer* when he saies, *There the Bœotians and Iaones* speakes of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these words,

[f] Ἰάονων γλῶ᾽ ὀϊχῇ πίρσαι δίλων

Ἰσέον δ ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἐκ τινος Ἴωνος βασιλέως αὐτῶν. *It is to be understood*, quoth hee, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he meanes *Javan*) *that was their King*. Neither is it strange that the *vau* or ὑψιλὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the [g] antique Latines and the Greeks spake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *thesaros* not *thesauros*. Sr *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion *that Asia the lesse had People before Greece had any, and that Javan did not fly from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the lesse in his passage, and from thence past over the neerest way, leaving his own name to some Maritimate province on that side as he did to that part so called*. In which, although the authority of so worthy & iudicious a man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to goe so farre, as antiquitie will

[b] Ioseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.
[c] Dan 10.20.
[d] Cap. 11.2.
[e] Strabo l. 9. p. 392.
[f] In Persis p. 133.
[g] Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

will beare me out. [a] *Thucidides* reports that it is manifeſt, that all Greece was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continuall pilgrimages, or removings of the inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was a ſafe traffique or commerce by ſea or land, each manured his grounds for to have provent, alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertaine, how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni. Be gone you ancient Boores.* But the more fertill ſoyle had hard bickrings. *Theſſalie, Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀσταίακτον ὖσαν, ἀνθρωποι ἔχουσι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεί. [b] *But Attica, by reaſon of the thinneſſe or barrenneſſe of the ground, was alwaies inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better, for a worſe) *not affording fuell to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἐκφέρουσα ὄντας, *not able to containe and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth *Colonies* into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſſe, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be [c] Κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονὸς, *the maker or founder of Aſia.* The mother *Jonia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name, For in proceſſe of time ſhe owned *Actæa* from *Actæon*, as [d] *Strabo* ſaies, or from *Actæus*, according to [e] *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by [f] *Tzetzes on Lycophron* called *Actæus*. But [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more naturall reaſon then this, why it was *Actæa*, *Actia* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greeke* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and [h] ἀλιτενὴς, it might challenge unto it ſelfe *Actæa*, *Dion*

[a] Lib. 1 p. 2.
[b] Thucid.
[c] In Jone. T. 2 p. 619.
[d] Lib 9. p. 397.
[e] In Att. p. 2.
[f] Pag. 23.
[g] Orat. 6.
* Varg. Æn. 5. p. 214.
[h] Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

περιέχουσί τι ὀλίγα πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὁρᾶσθαι ἢ ἐξ ἧς ὄμοια λέγουσιν, ἀφ' ἀκτῆς τινὰ εἶναι. Hence Ακτὴ by the Ænigmatical Poet in his [i] *Cassandra* is put for this country. *Tzetzes. Because it is (Actæa) a cliffe, that is cast forth and lying in the sea.* And *Athens* her selfe by *Plautus* is said *Athenæ in actâ, pro Athenis Atticis*, as [k] *Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season, and *Cecrops* having married the daughter of *Actæus* glories in his *Cecropia* (and Athens *Cecropia*, and *Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ* from *Cranaus* the King that succeeded him) This *Cranaus* among other of his daughters had one [l] *Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Athens* and *Attica*, next *Pysidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queene of Greece*, so called, from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the Oracle of *Apolle*, who taught them that the one did signifie *Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the Women for *Minerva*, who had most voices should carry it. the females being more the Goddesse bore away the bell, Lo here a witty Divell to bring in ἐπιχώριον θεὸν, Gods of his own making, to infold the superstitious in an ignorant zeale. However let us leave the shadow of poeticall fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings striving to draw away their Subjects frō seafaring negotiations, & a desire to live by sayling, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐκεῖνος &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea and businesses thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenuous kind of life, nay saies *Ovid* in his Kalender. *Mille Deæ est operum*, shee is Goddesse of a thousand trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphiction*, & *nomen civitati Athenis dedit*. [c] *Iustine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given.

i Pag 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Paus. locis præd.

a Varro apud Augustin. l. 18. c. 9. de Civit. Dei.

b In Them. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

given. Which Author [d] *Martianus Heracleota* doth follow, [d] Δι' ὃν τινὲς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Πάλλαντος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι συγγενείαν λαβόν. This was that *Erechtheus*, who in a time of drowth over all the world except Ægypt, brought corne to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this City hath been to Ægypt for other Kings; to wit, [e] *Cecrops* and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an Ægyptian. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the Ægyptians, *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athene* in Greeke, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*; when the people began more seriously to addict themselves to civill government, and study of good literature; knowledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva* Τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. saies [f] *Aristotle*. Nay her name being derived from thence, נִצְ thena in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learne*: from which come *thenaa* and with an article *Hatthenaa* as [g] *Heinsius* the most learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from ana the number of three which notes eternity, and so from hat-het ana. *Athenæ*. Because wisdome doth contain eternity, let us send it back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the [h] *shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some they tell us, that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellatiō from him then *Atteene*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Meursius* truly think for εἰς Ἀθήνας. Nay [a] *Hugo Favolius* who was there himselfe

[e] Aristoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycoph p 23.

[f] Polit. l 8. c 9

[g] In Aristar. Sic. Synt. 1. c. 1. p. 27.

[h] Isidor.

[a] In Hodœp. Byz. l 3.

himſelfe even to the ſame purpoſe names it *Sethina*.

Undiq; ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ
Dædala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas
Indigenæ Sethina vocant ----
Wee wretched *Athens* round doe view, which now,
Though once ingenious Pallas love, 's her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the Homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄστυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonicus,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Piræei brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

GReece, ſaies [b] *Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole earth, and in the mid'ſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navell whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the wombe of time, received nouriſhment, before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. Shee is ſeated upon a very high rock, which habitations doe encompaſſe, as [c] *Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned fabricke even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelfe names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ *The City*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetuall contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſſe [d] *Pauſanias*. [e] *Terent*, *An in aſtu venit*? Donat. *Sic Athenienſes Urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀστοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called their Citty, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*, after that they called it πόλις [f] *Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx* a caſtle, which

b I. Panath. p. 71. 172.

c Lib. 9. p. 356

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Att. p. 13. l. 16.

e Eunuch. act 5. ſc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as [g] *Aristides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks* named *Diva regnans in summis urbibus arces. The Goddesse that keepes the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remaines, the succour and shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished with men and armes, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to the number of seaven hundred thousand, as *Christophoro Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken the number. As for the forces thereof [a] *Hugo Favolius* shall thus instruct you,

[g] Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 21.

[a] Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæq; imposita jugo est, vastas prospectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoste,
Nobilis arx, toto quâ non est altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validisq; instructior armis,
Ignivomoq; magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Castle only famous at this day,
Set on an hill, below which views the sea.
The scattered thatcht sheds, that stand it about,
The Fort defends, and keeps invasion out,
And natives safe. A fort, none noted more
In Greece, which hath a better warlike store,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the toppe of this Turret stand the fashions of Halfe Moones most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ismaelites*, who have the Moon in no small honour, as my much honoured Mr [b] *Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus speakes *Favolius*,

[b] De Diis Syris Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt fastigia nubes.

Whose tops with gilded Moones aspiring high,
Doe knock the Clouds the pilgrims of the skie.

Neither may it passe obscurely which I have taken up being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witnes; namely that on the side

side of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, growes a certain kind of herbe, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discerne nothing but the herb it selfe. Of which matter I seriously with that I could testify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bonâ fide*, with good credit. The walls that environ this, are none now, saies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πλαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storkes, διὰ τὴν πλάνην, for their wandring, [a] *Strabo*, [b] *Plinie* saies their names were *Eurysalus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that first built houses of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author, and the persons wrong, in putting a false name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. [c] *Pausanias*. φασὶ δὲ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From these was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in avibus.*

a Lib. 9. p. 397.
b Nat. hist. l. 7. c. 56.
c In Attic. p. 26. l. 34.

Τὶς δ' ἂν κατοικίζοι τῆς ἀκάλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propyleum* or porch, on which *Pericles* [d] is discommended by [d] *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a summe of money. [e] For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people. His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour warre against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

d Tul. Off. l. 2.
e Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 2.

By

By the way it ſhall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as f *Plutarch* διὰ τὸ ἀκολάστως καὶ λυπεῖσθαι it may bee, for his heat in Venerie and ill ſavour. Goats likewiſe, ſaies g *Varro*, came not thither, unleſſe for a neceſſarie ſacrifice once, leaſt they ſhould hurt the *Oliue* which is ſaid firſt to haue ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is about ſome * ſix hundred twentie fiue feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greekes, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds, or Cities, by the σταδία. The firſt City then is contained in ſeaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes able to make a City of themſelues. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις, The upper and the lower City. h *Plutarch*, ὅτε κάτω καὶ περὶ θαλάττῃ στρεβόντες τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διεφυλάξαμεν. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greeke Authors, that when you meet with τὸ ἄνω in the deſcription of a countrey, you preſently muſt conceaue the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, i *Thucydides*. Ἔφερόν τι καὶ ἀλλήλοις τι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἔσαν ὅντες ἐν θαλάσσῃ κάτω ᾤκουν. *And they prayed vpon each other, and among the reſt who were not addicted to the ſea, yet lived below*, underſtand neare the ſea, *Schol.* κάτω ὅπου ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὸ κάτω knit together made but one ioynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* vnto themſelues, tooke vp, as k *Dion Choyſoſtome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about fiue and twentie miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were μικρὸν τι ἔλαττον ἢ fifteene miles ſaue one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not eſtſoone perceaued the number to haue beene corrupt, and written κα for ει, twentie fiue for fifteene. For ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large bonnds. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned fiue miles, as you may ſee in l *Plinie*, From *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum* foure miles

f Φλωτιν. p. 175.

g De re Ruſt.

* *Fiue feet make a pace. and a thouſand paces a mile* Iſidor. Orig. lib. 15. c. 16.

h In Phocp. 549. l 47.

i Lib. 1. p. 6. a

k Orat. 6.

l Nat hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeakes in his ſecond book conſiſted of fiue miles a quarter and halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeaven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together make up but twentie two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood: and it behoues us to conceiue that he ſpake not barely of the naked wals, for then it cannot hold; but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to haue been without [d] περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, as he ſaies, τῆς ἄστεος διεκεῖτο καὶ πόλαι καὶ πᾶσα ξύμπασα. In which I appeale to more iudicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſſe by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in [e] *Pauſanias*, theſe words, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἔχουσιν ἀφ' ἑκάστης τῆς πύλεως ἡ περὶ Φαληρὸν θάλασσα, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the [f] wall called *Phalericus* is but twentie *ſtadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing leſſe. For ſpeaking of ſalt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσης ῥεύματα, hee ſeemes to involue a reaſon drawne from the neereneſſe of the ſea. For when he writes of this brackiſh well. *Among the Athenians, the ſea which comes up neere Phalerus is diſtant from the City but twentie Stadia at the moſt*, quoth hee. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangely doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius XX.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proues that which followes. Hee might haue likewiſe conſidered that περὶ with a Dative caſe ſignifies not onely *juxta* and *propè* as I haue tranſlated it; but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerue better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number; but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſſe that the two walls, which ioynes *Pyræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by [a] *Liuie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in [b] *Propertius*,

---*Theſeæ brachia longa viæ.* [c] *Appian* of *Alexandria*, μακρὰ πύλαι, and [d] *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which [e] *Plutarch*. The other towardes the South, in

d Loco citato.

e In Arcad p. 244. l. 37.

f Att. Lect. l. 3 c. 4.

a Lib. 31.

b Lib. 3. Eleg. 19 p. 192.

c In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

d Pag. 355. l. 10.

e In Pericle, p. 215. l. 20.

in height about forty Cubits, as [f] *Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called διὰ μέσου τείχη by [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end and *Piræum* at the other, theſe were drawne forth betweene. And when writers ſpeake of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τείχες, it may be conjectured that it is for diſtinction of that Νότιον τεῖχες in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, [h] witneſſe *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeemes to bring authoritie for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe. *In* [i] *Equitibus.*

Τὸν Πειραῖ᾽ ἐτείχισεν.

Which his [k] Scholiaſt affirmes. Τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐτείχισε καλλὲ τῇ πόλει. *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in [l] *Probus* that he was the onely agent in walling the City, and that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were faine to be as it were ſacrilegious, and make uſe of materialls formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But [m] *Plutarch* gaine-ſaies this, and that he did onely τὴν πόλιν ἐξάπτειν τῷ πειραιεῖ, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῇ θαλάττῃ, conjoyne the City and *Piræum*, and put the land to take acquaintance with the ſea. It ſeemes ſomewhat forward before. How ever, ſo fennie was the ground it was founded upon, that the worke ſoone came to great reparation, which [n] *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* undertooke. For with ſtones of an huge weight and lime he made the earth ſo firme that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberall, that hee did out of his own expences ſo great favours, to a people that ſome yeares after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches, but in after time [o] finiſhed the whole worke, ſo that he may truely be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meurſius* hath obſerved tenne, but I feare they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe. *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the fayreſt of all, *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſaies *Livie*, *maior aliquanto patentiq́ quam cæteræ eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider then the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon* as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραϊκαὶ *Pi-*

[f] In Mith p. 124 l. ult.
[g] Orat. 6.
[h] In Attic. p. 19 l. 8.
[i] P. 337.
[k] P. 338. A. co. 2.
[l] In Them. p. 27.
[m] In Them. p. 87 l. 25.
[n] Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.
[o] Plut. p. 355. l. 12. *unleſſe* τὸ ἔτεσιον *may haue reſpect to* Conon *who after the victory at* Cnidus *rectified theſe walls as* Pauſanias *in* Atticis p. 2, l. 14. *I would neither deceaue my ſelfe or the Reader*
* Attic. Lect. initio.
[p] Dec. 4. l. 1. [illegible] A.

taicæ. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. [g] *Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες. *Hippades*. Where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour rest with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his countrey. Ἱεραὶ Sacræ. The sacred gate. We read of this in [b] *Theophrastus's Characters* but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espied a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν νεκρὸν, the dead to have been carried out to buriall through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. Write then Ἡρίας. Ἡρία are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. [c] *Demosthenes*, Αἰγέως πύλαι The gate of Ægeus. It seemes to have beene in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called [d] Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις. *The statue at the gates of Ægeus*, Μελιτίδης. *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponnesian warre*, who after his returne into his countrey from banishment, was treacherously murthered, his Sepulchre stands neere these gates. [e] *Pausanias*. Κεραμικὸς *Ceramicus*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι. *The Gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious warre that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. [f] *Xenophon*. Διοχάρης πύλαι. The Gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speake. Ἀχαρνικὴ πύλαι. The *Acharnan Gates*. I suppose they were called so from that Towne or Village neere named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Towne to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina* from

[g] In Theseo. p. 9. l. 20.

[a] ἐν βίοις τῶν ῥητόρων. [i] p. 456.

[b] περὶ ἀνεπιστασίας. p. 45

[c] Pag. 715. num. 95.

[d] Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

[e] Atticis p. 23. l. 41.

[f] Ἑλλην. β. p. 279. l. 43.

from *Collatia*, a Burge not farre off. And happily it is so here, as also in *Mesa*. *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the Citty. *Oeanea Thracia*. These are all that I ever met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by [c] *Pausanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brasse. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speake as good as nothing. Thus haue wee found twelve Gates; which being opened enter; sucke that sweet ayre, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, [a] and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding iudgements for contemplation. Whence [b] *Euripides* may well straine to this note; that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, παντοίας ἐρετὰς ξυνωρύχους. Will he blesse that clime stiling it λαμπρὸν πατρὶ αἰθέρι, which hath beene the Mother of the *Muses* (by the leaue of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to haue travelled with *Harmonia*; as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not [d] *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lye under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it. [e] No coast so truely void of all earthly dregges, and participating more of the cœlestiall and defecated ayre. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* beene lavish in expressions. [f] *Famous*, [g] *The most Renowned*, [h] *Holy*, [i] *Sacred Athens. Pindarus*. [k] *Wonderfull*. [l] *Much spoken of*. [m] *Neat, &c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to beare vessells of a good burthen, as I haue been informed, but the *Turkes* fearing least it might be advantagious to any enimy that might invade them, haue cut it into many & sundry litle streames, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they haue sufficiently prevented, which they did but suppose could happen.

Meursius *hath added two.* l. tonex, & Scæx, in Atticis, *which I never saw untill I had writ ten this place as God and man is my witnesse. I speake least any should, think that I haue stolne out of him because we meet.*

[g] Atticis p. 14 l. 11.

[a] Cassiod. Var. l. 12.

[b] Medea p. 460. 461.

[c] Med. p. 459.

[d] In Præf. ad Charact.

[e] Tom. 1. p. 173.

[f] Aia p. 5. 7.

[g] Oed. Col. p. 258.

[h] Oed. Col. p. 264.

[i] Aia p. 71.

[k] Im. p. 361.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ. Ἀθηναῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὸ μεταβάλλον *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modum q; habent.*

[1] Ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. p. 196

THE *Athenians* by [1] *Dicæarchus* are divided into two sorts, Ἀττικοὶ, *Atticos*, and Ἀθηναίους. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Insomuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athenians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceaved for losse of the Title of the City) was this, [m] That none should after call them Ἀθηναίας, *Athenians*, but Ἀττικὰς *Atticas*. A revenge I suppose opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ὕπουλοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παρατηρηταὶ ἐπὶ ξενικῶν βίον. *Curious Babblers, Deceitfull, Calumniators, Observers of the liues of strangers.* Περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς. A sufficient witnesse of this is [a] St *Luke*, that saies, they did regard nothing more then to heare and speake noveltie. To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all the newes, that was going in those daies, was currant. Hence say we *verba in tonstrinis proculcata*: and in Greeke ἐπὶ τοῖς κυρέοις λόγος, [b] *Aristophanes*.

[m] Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 9.

[a] Act. 17.

[b] In Pluto p. 38.

Καί τις λόγος γ' ἦν, ἡνίκ' Ἡρακλεᾶ, πάλαι
Ἐπὶ τοῖσι κυρέοισι καθημένων
Ὡς ἐξαπίνης αἰὼν γένοιτ' ἂν πλούσιος.

They that sate in the Barbers shops did talke much that hee was suddenly growne rich. The Scholiast seemes to take the meaning as if the Comœdian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers and neglecting Barber Chirurgions of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle. [c] *Ælian* Καθιζομένης ἐπ' ἰατρικῆς λογαρίου, ἢ κακῶς ἀγρεύειν ἐν πατρὶς ἦν-

[c] Var. hist. lib 3 c. 7.

διφῶντας Sitting in a Chirurgions shop, scandalous, and thirstie to speake ill by all meanes. ὕπουλοι men Italianated, who can smile, even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* hath in his Characters drawne out, who can be affable to their enimies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares: that salute with mortall embracements, and clasp you in those armes, which they meane to embrew in your dearest blood. In summe, fayre without, but rotten within, like a wound which is healed aboue and seemes sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. Συκοφαντώδης. Given to false accusations. The [e] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, that it being forbidden to carry Figges out of *Athens*, and some nevertheless the decree being absolute against it, presuming so to doe, they set rogues in the gates that did appeach them, (as [f] *Plutarch* likewise) Hence came this word to bee used for any crafty knaue that gets his living by promooting, [g] ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affaires, and therefore [h] *Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the scene terming himselfe an *Ouerseer* both of private and publike matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, hee would as sure haue fetched him over for his coyne, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the fiesh, or any Lawyer a credulous client and having well plumed him, afterwards gives him a dimissorie. Συκῆσι (*Sycophantæ*) ὡν χθ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν ζῶσιν. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered, πανήγυρις, *All beautifull*. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ὄσσῃ ἰηδόσυ σύκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a verse of [a] *Homer* in the description of *Alcinous* garden, but peares grew ripe after peares, and figges after figges, meaning a continuall succession of Sycophants. This made *Isocrates* the Oratour to compare the City to a Curtezan, with whom few there were but would haue to doe, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it to be the best place to sojourne in, but the worst to inhabit:

Cap. περὶ ἀγροικίας.

e In Plut. p. 5.

f In Solone p. 65.

g Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.

h Plato p. 90. c. p. 91. b.

i Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 1.

a Ὀδυσσ. η.

By

By reason of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παραπηγμα τῆ ξενικῶν βίων. I was once halfe in an opinion that these words were to haue beene put to the former thus, συκοφαντῶδες παραπηγμα τῆ ξενικῶν βίων, And I thinke the sense will runne well, *Malitious obseruers of the liues of strangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι and held hospitalitie sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law: *That Forrainers should receaue no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now hee discommendes the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duely marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an aduantage: As for the *Athenienses* they were Μεγαλόψυχοι ἁπλοῖ τοῖς ὅπως φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friendes.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their maners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularitie of nature.* As *Polybius.* No μεγαλοψυχία afterwardes, but haughtinesse of spirit, magnanimitie now fallen. And when *Livy* saies *ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos seruare,* hee meanes, they had nothing left but those prond spirits, which their ancient flourishing fortune had puffed up. No ἁπλότης, or simplicity, no *Lambe like innocencie*, or mildenesse; but as *Plutarch* speakes, *People rashly angry, soone pittifull, rather inclined sharpely to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe base and abiect Peasants, so friendly doe they entertaine childish and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their owne praises, and nothing moued with scurrilitie, Fearefull and terrible euen to their Gouernours, humane towards their enimies.* Not unfitly then *Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c.* How deserue they to be blamed, who though they they had just laws, yet had they most wicked disposition, and chose rather to take their owne courses, then put in practise their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to expresse a countenance void of shame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέπος, An *Athenian looke*, in *Nubibus.* φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of *Paterculus*, that what was done in sincerity and

[b] Ἀπομν. ημ. c. p. 428.

[c] Lib. 6.

[d] Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.

[e] Aristoph. p. 694.

[f] Πολιτ. πεσγ. p. 387.

[g] Lib. 5. c. 3. p. 207.

[h] Pag. 189. g.

[i] Lib. 2. p. 47.

and faithfull truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica* with an *Athenian* loyaltie. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they brake their leagues, tooke part with other *Islanders* againſt confederates, & violated the Lawes of Armes, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their Wrath it was *ἀείμνηστος*, ever mindefull, as [b] *Virgil. memor ira.* And the hatred they proſequuted the Barbarians withall was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt [c] all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake; & they forbad them their ſacrifices as they uſed to do murderers among them. Where you muſt note that all that were not *Grecians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But lo! How are they now become all become Barbarous! whether or no people of *Africa* or ſome of the *Catalani* I cannot juſtly tel. *Mahumedans* all, poore and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, [d] *Favolius* *Duraſq; coacti*

[b] Æneid. 1.

[c] Iſocrat. in Pan. p. 109.

[d] Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Pauperie aſſuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.
Aut paſſim infeſtant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora piratæ, ſed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit in eſcatos tereti ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need they do their life ſuſtaine
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour maine
With pillaging. VVho are more juſt and good
VVith angling do the filly fiſh delude;
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſrable, ſtill poore.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι Γεωμόροι Δημιοργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.*

THere was at firſt but two kindes of people in *Athens*, e two orders *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat*, in which there was differ.nce of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France* either Peeres or Peaſants, or as in *Venice* Patricians and Plebeians. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentle for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeakes. a τρία δὲ ὧν ἦν πάλαι. Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιοργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loynes of thoſe *Heroes* famous in the Greek hiſtory, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations ſuch as *Praxergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*. &c. whom we may tearme Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their owne, & ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſions. Δημιοργοί, *Demiurgi* were men of ſome handi-craft, trades men, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Maſons, and the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that b lived in the upper part of the Citie, οἱ ἔξω ἄστεος, ſaies *Diogenes Laertius* and the *Pediæi* which likewiſe are πεδιεῖς, ſuch as lived in the middle of the Citie, or the plaine. And the *Paralii* who lived neere the ſea, were at contention about government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, c as *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchie, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter

c So doth Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſeus *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους lib. 2 n.

a Pollux l. 8. cap. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

c p. 61. in Solonem.

matter he made these four rankes. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται Θῆτες, *Pentecosiomedimnos. Equites. Zeugites. Thetes.* *Pentacosiomedimni* were those who ἐν ξηροῖς ἅμα καὶ ὑγροῖς, could make five hundred measures in wet, and drie commodities alike. What *Possandus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here, for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow, but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑδρίᾳ. For he seems to sow upon the Waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden Anno* 1635. under the name of *Postellus* who was sometime a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Athenienſium*. *Equites*, were such as were of ability to keep an horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, & as many in wet: called likewise ἱππάδα πλήθους *Zeugitæ*, were such as could of wet & dry in all, make but three hundred. Any of these three could beare office in the Commonwealth. A fourth ranck which he called Θῆτας, *Thetas*, a name for servilitie, which had no power in the rule of the Weale publique. But it had not been amisse if I had shewne how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and studie, who were had in greater honour, answer to the *Ægyptian* Priests. Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the stocke were chosen Priests hence ἱερωσύνη ἐκ γένους in *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Ægypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely to provide souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians who skilfull in some art, did set out their labour to daily hire: as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut p. 65.

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

f Plut. Thes. p. 8. l. 18.

g Pag. 741. n. 164.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φυλὰς Φράτρας. Τετρὰς. Γένος. *Tribulum* Κοινωνία φυλετικὴ λέπτα φρατρικά.

IN *Athens* there were but foure Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecropis*, *Autochthon*, *Actæa*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, *Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neere the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Mesogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I knowe not. It is probable that it was an honour to their governour, for as *Cecrops* gaue the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a Title to himſelfe*, *Erichthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter*, *Pallas*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*. Διὰς Ἀθηνᾶς Ποσειδῶνος Ἡφαίστου. But when *Ion* came to rule they were named after his foure ſonnes, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes*, as [a] *Herodotus* and [b] *Euripides*. though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called [c] ἀπὸ τῆς γλωττης, ἃς διηρίθμησαν οἱ Ἴωνες τὸ πρῶτον, from the courſes of life which they firſt tooke. But *Cliſthenes* a man factious and wealthie is ſaid by the Councel of [d] *Apollo*, *Alcmæon* being *Archon* to make tenne of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or Heroes borne in that land all, except *Aiax*, whom tough a ſtanger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour and companion. [e] *Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι: as you would ſay giuing names: the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom* Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gaue the name to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councell place of the Senate. Their names are theſe as [f] *Pauſanias* hath them. *Hippothoon*, *Antiochus*, *Aiax Telamonius*

a In Terpſic. p.137.
b In ſonevertus finem.
c In Solon. p. 6.
d Anſtides T. 1.p.335. A T 5 P 352.
e In Terpſic. p.137.
f In Att.p.45

nius, Leo, Erectheus that slew *Immaradus* the sonne of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleusinian* war, *Ægeus*, *Oeneus*, *Acamas*, *Cecrops*, *Pandion*. From these Ἰωνοδοντὶς, Ἀργαδὴς, Ἁιαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name, in gratuity to them for the favours receaved; which in processe of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰ τὴν παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων βασιλέων, having beene curteoully entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livie* deceaue us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succour the *Athenians* against *Philip*, sayes they first thought of adding that Tribe to the tenne, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued foure fighting ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home,[a] *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus haue we seene that that there were twelue Tirbes in all. Let us looke back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of civill government. [b] *Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the yeare. The foure Tribes according to the foure quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τριττὺς or Φρατρίας answerable to the twelve Months, each Φρατρία or τριττὺς into thirty ἡμέρας or kindreds equalising the daies. For so many onely had the yeare of old. Witnesse the Riddle of [c] *Cleobulus* concerning the yeare,

Εἷς πατὴρ παῖδας ἔχει δυώδεκα τοὺς δ' ἑκάστους
Παῖδες τριήκοντα διάδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσι.

One Father had twelue Sonnes, & each sonne thirty daughters, and every daughter black and white, meaning daies and nights. Over these were Governours Φυλοβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon controversies betweene party and party of their owne Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called. Τριτύαρχος the Ruler of the *Tritys* or *Phratria*. The word may seeme to signifie a Societie, fellowship, or

* *These are reckoned among the Eponymos in Paus. l. 5 who had Statues likewise.*

[a] Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

[b] In Il. b. pag. 181.

[c] Laertius p. 631. l.

Company I skils not whether you derive it from φατία as *Eustath.* or πατὰ as *Suidas*, or φρὰρ, as others, which is a Well, because they drew Water from the same well. For the place being scantie of springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one Well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use φρέατα πατητὰ, digged Wells, as [d] *Plutarch.* φράτορες are the men of that society, called by *Tully Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had if any *Laciades* should come into his Farme. In description of which thing *Plutarch* uses δημόται, which then wee are not to interpret (*Curialis*, For this is as much as συγγενὴς and ὁμοφύλος) but *populares*. These at festivall daies in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as [a] *Eustathius* obserues, and [b] *Pollux* (where they brought their children to be engrossed in their books, as shall be hereafter spoken with the reasons thereof) φρατρίζειν *Phratrizein* from hence comes which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν ζωιδεῖν, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place εἰς ταὐτὸ ζωιδεῖν. As for the φρὰ or kindreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but from that neere conjunction which they had each with other being admitted into this societie. γένη δὲ (every γένος or kindred consisted of thirtie, whence they were named τριακάδες) ἐ συνίσχυσι, ἐν ᾗ ἡ σωβόλη ἔτι συσχοινοβόλησι. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod; which the Gramarians call σύστημα κοινωνικὸν, a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία being a participating in one thing, or haveing an equall share in the same priviledges. Great was their care of each other; great was their mutuall love; which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certaine feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindely entertaine each other. δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ, and φρατρικὰ. [b] *Athenæus.* Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προτοῦ λέγειν οἱ νομοθέται τὰ τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν· ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Διάσιου καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ, &c. Of feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica* for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular, moreover

[d] In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

[a] Iliad g. pag. 281. & Il ε. pag. 629.

[b] Lib. 3. c. 4

[b] Dipnosoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasus* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence ἑταίζειν πρὸς φυλὴν and ἑταίζειν, τοὺς θεάτορας. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying that Wine hath ἱλαρωτάτὸν τι καὶ φιλικὸν, an attractive and perswading force to procure love, and friendship.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere Δήμους. Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as [c] *Thucydides* ſpeakes, by Villages before there were any Townes; from whence comes the word Comœdie. [d] *At verò nondum conflat in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinarumq; præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita feſtum Carmen ſolenniter cantarent: orta eſt Cœmedia* ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes. The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymnes to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident of the ſheepheards and neighbours, about the Villages, houſes and croſſe waies of *Attica*, alters being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdie ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and (with) night time to cry aloud [a] Ὦ δῆμε ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ τε θεσμία οὐ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ νόμους. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch outrages, although there bee Gods and Lawes*: by which, theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus* in a preface to *Ariſtophanes* ſaies μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμας or villages by the *Atheneans*, but δήμους which they tranſlate

[c] Lib. 1.

[d] Donat. in Præf. in Ter.

[a] Thomas Magiſter.

ſtate *Populus*, better in my minde *oppida* or Townes. *Cicero ad Atticum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod Maddiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro. At Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutus quę ſum non dico Cæcilium, Menu ut ex portu in Piræeum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cui ſabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. *Quod ſi Δῆμοι oppida volumus eſſe tam eſt oppidum Sunium quam* Piræeus. If ſo be we will haue Δῆμοι to be Townes, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Towne. Theſe were formerly kingdomes as *Pauſanius* teſtifies. Τὰ γὰρ πάλαι ἐν Δήμοις ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν Δήμων Φάραι πολλαὶ, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐβασίλευσαν τῶν Κέκροπος. Moreover I haue written, that ſome of the Townes were gouerned by a King before the raigne of *Cecrops*. And no marvell, for ſome of them farre ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκράριοι, as *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράριοι, as *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into Δῆμοι, as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol. of Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, as *Euſtathius* out of *Strabo*, and *Caſaubon*, an hundred ſcaventie foure. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations κατύπερθεν and ὑπόπερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them are diuided into Greater and Leſſer. The μικροὶ or leſſe are theſe. *Alimuſii, Zoſter, Proſpaltii, Anagyraſii, Cephale, Praſieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinuſii, Athmoneis, Achamæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus.* The reſt were greater. Take then promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

b Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

c Atticis p. 30 l. 42.

d In Padath. T. 1. p. 326.

e Nub pag. 225. a.

f L. 8. p. 430.

g In 11 b. pag. 215.

h In Athenæum. l. 6. c. 9.

i Pauſan. Att. p. 30.

KE-

ΚΕΚΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνὶς. Δαιδαλίδαι. Ἐπειίδαι. Ξυπήτη. Πίθος. Συπαλητ῀ῖδες. Τετράμυες. Ἀθμονεῖς ἢ Θόμονες. Ἀλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες. Φλύα. *Æxone. Daedalidæ, Epiecidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Alæ Æxonides. Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγραύλη ἢ Ἀγρύλη. Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος. Θήμακες ἢ Θήμακοι, Κηφισία. Λαμπρὰ Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ Ἐλαιοῦς. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασῆ. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Ἀναγυροῦς. *Agraule*, or *Agryle. Euonymia* or *Euonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra*, in which *Sigonius* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferiour, which to be one and the same I haue shewne aboue *Pambotadæ. Pergasæ. Sybridæ. Phegus. Anagyrus.*

Παιονίδης.

Ἀγγελὴ Κυδαθηναιῶν. Κύδαθηναι. Οἷ ἢ Οἷες. Παιανιὰ κατώτερθεν. Παιανιὰ ὑπέρθεν. Περιθοίδαι. Στειριά. Φηγαιὰ, Μυρρινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum. Oa* or *Oeis.* the upper *Paeania*, the under *Paeania. Probalinthus. Stiria. Phegæa. Myrrhinus.*

Αἰγηΐς.

Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. Ἀραφὴν Βατὴ. Γαργηττὸς. Διομέα. Ἐρεχθία. Ἐρίκεια. Ἔρχια ἢ Ἴκαριος. Κολυττός. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθρά. Τίθρας. Φυλαὶ. Φιλαίδαι. Χολλίδαι. *Alæ Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erectbia. Ericeia. Icaria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plœthea. Tithras. Phegæa. Philæde. Chollidæ.*

Κεκροπίς.

Ἀγνοῦς. Εἰρεσίδαι. Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἑρμοῖ. Ἡφαιστιάδαι. Θόρικος. Ἰτέα. Κίκυννα. Σφῆττος. Χόλαργος. Χόλαργοι. Χολαργία. Κεφαλὴ. Πρόσπαλτα. *Agnus. Erisidæ. Hermus* or *Hermi. Hephæstiadæ. Thoricus. Itea. Cicynna. Sphettus. Cholargus. Cholargi. Cholargia. Cephale. Prosphalta.*

Λεοντίς.

Αἰθαλίδαι. Αἰθαλία. Ἀφίδνα. Δαμαλίς. Ἐκάλη. Εὐπυρίδαι. Κηττοί.

Κρωπία Λαμπτῆρες Οἶον Κεκροπ. Παιονίδαι Πάλληνις Πολεμὼς Σκιμβωνίδαι. Σύριον Τυβατβάδαι. Φρεάρριοι Μαραθών. Ἀλιμοῦς. Æthalidæ Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypradæ. Certi. Crupia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramicum. Paeonidæ Peleces. Potamus. Scambonidæ. Sunium. Hyba Aybedæ. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.

Ἱπποθοωντὶς.

Ἀζηνιεῖς. Ἀμαξαντεῖς Ἀνάφλυστος Ἀχερδοῦς Δεκέλεια Ἐλαεὶς Ἐλαιοῦς Ἐλαιοῦσα. Ἐρχιάδαι Θυμοιτάδαι. Κηφισιάδαι Κορυδαλλός. Οἱ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ Οἰνόη Ἐλαιοῦς Σφηττός. Azenia. Amaxantea. Anaphlystus. Acharnus. Decelia. Eleæus. Eleusis. Freadæ. Thymætadæ. Cephisiadæ. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras. Sphendale.

Αντιοχὶς.

Ἀγνιὰς ἢ Ἄγνιος. Ἀλωπεκὴ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀμφιτροπὴ Ἀνάφλυστος. Ἀτλιὴν Ἀτμονία Βάτεια Θορικὸς. Κεφαλὴ Λευκοπύργιον, Μελαινεὶς ἢ Μέλαινα Παλλήνη Πεντέλη. Σημαχίδαι Φάληρον. Ægilia, for Ægius. Alopece or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Atene or Atenia: Bessa. Thoræ Criôa. Leucopyra. Melaneis or Melæna Palline, Pentele. Semachidæ. Phalerum.

Αἰαντὶς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθὼν. Τετταξίδαι Τειχμοῦσσα. Ραμνοῦς. Oeme at Marathon. Tettacidæ. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this Tribe were some townes take away & put to other, Aphydna, Persidæ, &c

Οἰνὰις.

Βῆσσα. Βησαίδαι. Ἐπικηφία. Θρία ἢ Θρίον Ἱπποτομάδαι. Λαχία. Λαχιαδαι. Δυσία. Μελίτη Οη ἢ Οἰη. Πειρεσιδαι. Πτελέα. Φυλή. Ἀχαρνα Τυρμίδαι. Butea, Butadæ, Epicephisia. Thria or Thrio. Hippotomadæ. Lacia, Laciadæ. Lusia. Melite, Oe or Æa. Perithædæ. Ptelea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαὶς

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicida. Thyrgonida. Κορθύλη. Corithyle.

Ἀτταλὶς

Ἀπολλωνιῆς Apollonienſis. Theſe are all which Authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I knowe not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia. Astypalæa. Atalanta. Achardus. Bellina. Brauron. Brilessus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoster. Thrion. Cale. Cedæ. Colyocidæ. Coele. Cynosarges. Ceramicus* without the Citty the same with *Academia. Laurium. Leneum. Limnæ. Munichia. Parenes. Pnyx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum. Sporgilus. Hydrussa. Hymettus. Hysiæ. Phaura. Phormisii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilands, called *Pharmacusæ*, two in number, and *Psyttalia*. The Scholiast of [a] *Aristophanes* speakes as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we haue of these among Authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of Contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in their Writs. N. the sonne of N. dwelling at *Alopeca* ἐν Κοίλῃ, ἐν Μελίτῃ ἐν Κεραμείῳ, of *Cæle*. of *Melitæ*. of *Cerameis*. In these Villages were Temples of the Gods. [b] *Livie. Templa pagatim sacrata.* And againe. *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisq; consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta reliquerit.* So much witnesseth [c] *Pausanias*; who tells us that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheless did τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν ἄγουσιν ἐν πόλει, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities *Brauronea*, to *Diana*. *Diomea* to *Iupiter Diomeus. Chitonea*, &c.

[a] In Ranis, p. 235.

[b] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

[c] In Atticis, p. 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς, Ὀλιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία Atheniensium status mutatio. Ἱερεύς, Σωτὴρ, Μῶσαι, Δίξ.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia,* as [d] *Æſchines*, which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατίαν δημοκρατείαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Grecians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer*, nor *Heſiod* knew: and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἴδιον ποιητοῦ, for calling the Kings, or βασιλῆς before the *Troian* wars, Tyrants. or *Tyrannos* Βασιλεία or a kingdome, is where obeiſance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, thē for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατία an Ariſtocratie, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helme of the Weale publike. Δημοκρατεία a Democratie, when the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods & men are truely obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave Hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be, inclining to the worſt Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing [a] popular man, and are as it were willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them, a Tyrant indeed ſaid, [b] *Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, [c] *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

[d] In Teſiphontem. p. 4.

[a] Ariſtot l. Pol. l. 5. c. 4.
[b] Probus in Miltiade.
[c] Probus ib. p. 17

feriatæ vita est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who haue perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enioyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring & rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or goverment of the best men, such as are well brought up, and exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being as *Aristotle* hath it, *Vertue* which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, [e] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τερπείσης καὶ φύσιν naturally inclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches And because that many in a state cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of the cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, & not the Lawes, who uniustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred [f] πρὸς ἕνα τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, by their president. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, and not bearing τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀδικίας, the iniuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls ὅπου τὸ πλῆθος κράτος, the power of a multitude; whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges & immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *æquam libertatem*: for which the *Greek Orators* haue properly used the word πολιτεία, as *Vlpian* obserueth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, & ready to trespasse against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kinde of goverment an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Rascality. All these in their times did *Athens* feele, for they were governed by Kings 487 yeares: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight betweene the *Dorienses* and *Athenians* offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed; hee therefore cloathing himselfe *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies [a] *Cicero*, with a servants habit least hee should bee

[d] Pol. l. 4. c. 9.

[e] Polyb. l. 6.

[f] Æschines in Ctes.

[g] In Demost. p. 59.

[a] Tusc. Q. l. 1.

knowne, put himselfe among the enimies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enioyed the name of King, [b] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memorie to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Iudges* ruled, in the Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for tearme of life. These continued three hundred and fifteene yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but ten yeares; seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventie yeares; who because they abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore [c] *annui Magistratus*, yearely Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus*, for a fained feare of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safty. For when the faction sprung up. Of which I haue spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* [d] enioyed thirtie yeares and deceased, leaving behind him two sonnes, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slaine by *Aristogeton*, after whose death the *Athenians* liued under a tyranny [e] foure yeares, from which they were d liuered by the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, the off-spring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoeuer they came for counsell he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred sixtie eight yeares after *Cekrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fift ranck of plebeitie from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sicily*

[b] Iustin l. 2.

[c] Iustin. l. 2.

[d] Heraclides in Pol.

[e] Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

by the Τετρακοσιοι or foure hundred took upon them ſtate, deceaving the people, as [f] *Ariſtotle* and [g] *Thucydides* affirme. For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themſelves by that meanes, and that the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the war, they moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion in the one and twentie yeare of the *Peloponneſian* war. Theſe Princes were called [a] πεντακοσιοι τετρακοσιοι ἢ ὄντες, fiue thouſand, though not exceeding foure hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded, but who ſo bare armes: nor any admitted to publike power but fiue thouſand, ſuch as with perſon and ſtate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an [b] Act of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted none more ready to driue out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of ſtart-up which did fit both feet. ᾧ γὰρ κόθορνος ἀμφοῖν μὲν πῶς ποτὲ ἁρμόττει δεξιὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστι The word may ſute with a Jack of both ſides. Theſe Τετρακοσιοι were conſtrained for feare of [d] *Alcibiades* to reſigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull baniſhment. But when *Lyſander* had overcome *Athens* (the [e] *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians* a *Democratie*) he ordained theſe thirtie to be chief. [f] *Polyarches*, *Critoas*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſilochus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *Charileos*, *Anætius*, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomocles*; *Theognis*, *Æſchines*, *Theugenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontidites*, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſitheides*. Theſe began at firſt to put to death the worſt and moſt abhorred, ſaies [g] *Saluſt*, without triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; [h] ſome for envie, others for riches. Theſe to make their partie firme choſe about three thouſand to whom alone they permitted to haue weapons diſarming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily command their liues. But by their lawes (for they made ſome ſtilled

[a] Plut. in Alcyb p. 148.
[b] Xen. ΕΛΛ. β. 274 l. 38.
[c] Xen. p. 275.
[d] Juſtin l. 5.
[e] Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.
[f] Xen. ΕΛΛ. β p. 270.
[g] In Catil. Conſp.
[h] Xen. p. 272.

ζημιοῖ

i Xen. p. 371. i κακοὶ νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, as wee shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer ὀνὶς κατάλογος. who was registred in the list of three thousand. So cruell were they, that the people fled into k *Phyle* a Castle in the *Athe-*

k Dem. p. 467 *nian* borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, & remained free until the death of *Alexander* even tourescore yeares, whom *Antipater* succeeded: who in battle at the Citty *Lamia* gaue the *Athenians* an overthrow and gaue them quarters on these termes that they should subm it to a few *Peeres*, whose revenue amounted to two thousand *Drachm'es* at least, the chief of whō was *Demetrius Phalereus*: that they should likewise receaue a garrison into *Munychia* for the asswaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after *Antipater* dying, the Citie fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often stroue to acquit themselues. But in vaine. For he brought them to such an exigencie: that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giuing them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be cōfederats to him, that none, whose revenewes come not to ten *minæ* or pounds, should undergoe any function in the Common-weale: and he should be their overseer whō he would be pleased to nominate. The

a Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem, man appointed was *Demetrius Phalereus*, a who made the Citty to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred statues. Hee wrote a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would haue given no small light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble & vexation had spent fourteen yeares, he was put out by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* surnamed *Poliorcetes*, who restored the ancient customes to them againe. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his father, that they changed the name of their *Iudge* from *Archon*

b Plut. in Demetrio. into b Σωτὴρ Ἰσθία the Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the yeare after his name, & adding * two Trib s to

* Pollux, l. 8. the

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as [c] *Stephanus*, But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach neere the City. After this *Lachares* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nintenth yeare of his reigne put in presidiarie souldiers to the Citie, which tenne yeares after he tooke out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* and *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands [d] *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the Citie, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Philip*, the last king of the *Macedonian Monarchie* except one, did somewhat shake it, as yon may read in [e] *Livie*. But hee was expelled by the Romans, who tooke the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre betweene *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receaue [f] *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his Generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded αἱματὸς Θεσπιὴ, a mercilesse slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the [g] streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a neere resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman* Emperours. *Iulius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of that name, this City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who whē they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reason, [a] *that the Greeke spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for warre. Constantine* the *Great* likewise had this City in high esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title of Στεφανὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as [b] *Julian* saies, which in the words of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is [c] τὸ τῦ μεγάλυ δικὸς (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

[c] In Berenice.

[d] Plut. in vita.

[e] Decad. 4. l. 1

[f] Vide Appianum Alex. in *Mithridatico*, circa pag. 122 123. &c.

[g] Plut. in vita P. 335.

[a] Cedrenus Baptista Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 1.

[b] In Oratione *Constantium*.

[c] Hist Rom. l. 7 p. 166

wards they called the [d] *Duke* of *Athens*, in that Hist orians time. Emperours have taken them wives citizens of this place; and the [e] daughters of their Dukes have been desired by that eminent ranck. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is said to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ἔσχε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ὁ Ἴβηρες; who having no issue male of his wife *Lubois* but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by an other woman, bequeathed by will *Baotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his son recovered it againe. *Nerius* succeeded him in the Dukedom who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, [f] whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his owne, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an infant, his mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. * This woman loved a *Venetian* noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Calcocondylas Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him by discourse and flatery she inticed to her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Priedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his owne wife: Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition & thirstie of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoyes the government of the citie; who being hated of the *Athenians*, & complained of at the court, to avoyd envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the coort; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

d Hist. R. m. l.7.p.167.
e Nic. Greg. l.circa.

f Calcochon. καλλίβυρες ἀπὸ Ναβάρες

* *In the time of* Petro Zani *came Ambassadors from* Athens *to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate, M. Leukenor *in history of lives of the Venetian Princes.*

g Chalcocon. l.9.p.299.

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not knowne to the [a] author) slew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zegan* governour of *Peloponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the Citie to the Prince of *Boetia*. He was the last Duke.

[a] Chalcocon. p. 300.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecem Dii Athenienſium Idololatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcripticii. Θεοὶ Ἀγώνιοι.

HErodotus in [a] *Terpſichore* is of opinion that the Greekes derived their religion from the *Ægyptians*. But [b] *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimonie may I affirme that it ſeemes to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to haue brought the myſteries of piety into *Greece*, who was himſelfe a *Thracian*, from whom the word [c] θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawne, which ſignifies deuotiõ. Τῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν θρᾷκες· ὅτι παρ' ὡς Θρᾳκίαις ἔσπε τῆς ἀρρησίων, ſaies [d] *Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which [e] *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βαλεσχέσι.

Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστ' ἀνθρώποις κατέδειξε φόνου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Orpheus ſhewed us ſacrifices and to abſtaine from ſlaughter. Neither is [f] *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
Ἔδειξεν Ορφεύς--- *Orpheus reuealed the hidden myſteries.* *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greekes* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelue in

[a] Pag 48.

[b] In Tractu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

[c] Sch. Euripi. in Alceſt. p. 661.

[d] Nonnus in Stel. 1.

[e] Pag. 260.

[f] P. 281.

numbet

number they were, quoth he, but theſe onely are reckoned. *Iupiter. Bacchus, Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres. Sais* or *Minerva. Latona.* as I haue gathered, which all at once to haue beene made knowne to the *Greekes*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a taske for me to proue. The *Athenians* I am ſure had twelue Gods in eſpeciall honour, whoſe pictures they had drawne out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; & had an altar erected, called [b] Βωμὸς τῶν Δώδεκα Θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* war, a man diſmembred himſelfe with a ſtone; which was accounted prodigious. By theſe twelue would they ſweare in common diſcourſe. [i] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour thoſe Gods, by whom they ſware; as I haue elſewhere ſpoken. But they were not confined to ſo ſmall a number as twelue. For how could it be, when they ran through the ſeaven ſorts of Idolatrie? Firſt worſhipping the Sunne, and puniſhing with death the neglect thereof: as you may read in [k] *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δημὴτερ, *Ceres*, πὰρ τὴν ὕλην, corne or food. Thirdly the Poeticall Gods. *Furies, and revengers of wickednesse*, as *Alaſtores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Paſſions, as *Loue, Pittie Iniurie* likewiſe and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly the accidents of grouth and nouriſhment, hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities, αὐξάνειν, to increaſe, and θάλλειν, to flouriſh: to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lacheſis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall ſiſters, and Ἐπιμήρη *Neceſſitie*, taken ſometime for death it ſelfe. Sixly, the Theogonie or pedegree of their Gods, able to make up the ſumme of which *Homer* ſpeakes. Τρὶς χίλιοι, &c. Three thouſand. Seaventhly an ignorance of the providence and bountie of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, & *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſick. And if this ſerue not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hoſpitality & good entertainment of ſtrange Gods. Δώρων δ' ἄνεμος ἔρχεται ἄλλα φιλοξενίστις διαπλώσῃ, ἔστω

g Pauſ. Attic. p. 3, l. 18.

b Plut. in Nicia, p. 387. l. 26.

i Ariſtoph. Equ. p. 300. A.

k Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

[a] Pag 471. καὶ σφόδρα περὶ θεοὺς. saies [a] *Strabo.* as the *Athenians* loves strangers, so strange Gods. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πρώτους ἀεὶ τῶν θεῶν, &c. [b] *Aristides.* For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones such as [c] *Orthane Conissalus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive superstition, that when [d] *Paul* preached *Jesus and the resurrection of the dead*: they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be a God. And least they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknowne Gods, of which [e] *Pausanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the scripture bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearfull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent ambassador to the *Lacedemonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he ([f] *Pan*, from whom πανικὸν *à spectrum*) was neglected and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious and fearing the like event, built a Temple, & Altar TO THE UNKNOWNE GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης. Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ Ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWNE AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* [g] *Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their cities and houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

[b] In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

[c] Strab. p 587

[d] Act. ci 17. v. 18.

[e] In Attic. p. 11. 35.

[f] Vide Eurip. Sch. in Med. Pag 82.

[g] P. 137.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Νέμειος Ἱκέσιος Πολιεῦχος. Βουλαῖος. Φράτριος. Φίλιος. Ὁμόγνιος. Καταιβάτης. Ἕρκειος. Ἀγοραῖος. Ξένιος. *Modii salis edendi, Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum. Apollo* ἀποτρόπαιος. πατρῷος. Ἀλεξίκακος. Θυραῖος. *Pæan, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mercurius* Παλιγκάπηλος. Εὐάγγελος Σωφρονίσκος. Πεντάπυλαιος.

Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their kingdomes, they were charged to make choise of *Jupiter*, [a] σωφρονίσαντας τὴν βασιλείαν. And so by [b] *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* [c] *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμειος) Him as *God of Suppliants*, hence [d] Ἱκέσιος. Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιεῦχος. Him as *Governour, and director of their Counsells*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *chiefe of their Societies*, hence φράτριος, and of their friendship too, hence φίλιος and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης, as much as comming downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence [f] Ἑλευθέριος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence [g] ὕπατος. Him the *Overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if hee were the watch and defender of the house. *Pharcrinus* Ἕρκει Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω πυλῶν ἵδρυται· αἰδέσιος δ' ὁ λόγος, ἐπ' ᾧ δ' ἔθυσαν ἀλλ' ὑφορᾷ τὴν ἔριν. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which [h] *Ovid.*--*Ante ædes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and hospitality*. So solemne were they in their entertainements, that

[a] Sch. Aristoph. p. 122. *in Nubibus.*
[b] Dem. in *Aristocr.* p. 251.
[c] Vlpian in Dem. p 273. Paus. p 18. l. 40. *Who thinkes Sylla to bee eaten with lice by a iudgement that slew Aristion supplyantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.
[d] Aristoph. Av. v. b. v. 626. Iul. & Paus.
[f] Pausan.
* Aristoph. P. 317.
[g] Metamorph

that they would not receaue a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other [i] πίστωσις δεξιολήπτου, a moſt certain ſigne of fidelity and ſecurity; as alſo waſhing & cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as [k] Tzetzes on Lycophron; whence it is called ἁγνὸν πάρος. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with [l] πᾶ ἅλες, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the commᵘnity of the table [m] ἐδῶν ἧς ἁλὸς τὸν μὴ κακῶς ἔχειν τὸν ὁμοτράπεζον ἐν σωτηρίᾳ, cuſtomes ſhewing that fellow commoners, & ſuch as feed at the ſame table muſt not iniure one another, to which the old ſaying may well agree, [n] multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoone eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtratiõ, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Iupiter* to witneſſe, & uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. [p] εἰ δι' ἐμὲ τὸν ἄμπτωτόν τι εἰ ἁμαρτὼν ξένιε. *Let my treſpaſſe be againſt Iupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemne, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this even to their poſterity, they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one peece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] ἐπιφέροντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἀσφάλειον, ἀνανεῶντο τὸν τῶν ξενίαν, *bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Iaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Media* to doe. Πέμψαι τι ξένιον σύμβολον ὃ δηλώσει σ' ἐμοί. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertaine you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Iupiter*, whom celebrated in [a] other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*, *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Iupiter*, invocated *in* danger or ſudden *events*, hence [b] Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if the

[i] Euſtath. in Il. θ.

[k] Pag 27 But Euſtath. ſaies that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.

[l] Demoſth. p. 241.

[m] Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28

[n] Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. ſaies that it betokens loue permanent. For ſalt preſerues. And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who came frõ divers places by hoſpitality are made one

In Il. p. 100.

[o] In Acharn. P. 414. vid. Sch

[p] Euſtath. in Il, λ.

[q] Eurip. Sch. p. 446.

[a] As πολιάς Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan. &c.

[b] Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 86.

he should deliver them from eminent evill, for which reason he is called *Alexicacus*, [c] *Apollinem abellentem mala intelligas quam Athenienses* Ἀλεξίκακον appellant. He was one of the first Gods they had, hence is he termed [d] πατρῷος, but [e] others think because he was the father of *Ion*. [f] *Macrobius* is of opinion, because the *Sun* the same with *Apollo* is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod sol humoribus exsiccatis progenerandis omnibus præluit causam*. To him stood Altars in their streets, hence is he ἀγυιεύς, as if he were set over their waies [g] *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomœria sunt,* ἀγυιὰς. Thit *Agyeus* was a sharp pillar. [h] κίων γάρ τις ἐστὶν ὀξὺ λίθων. Although the *Greekes*, as *Macrobius* saies, did worship him as Θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the dores of their houses, yet I finde no monument of that Title in *Pausanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which though I have taken occasion to speak elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall derivations of the *Greekes*, which you read in [k] *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the *Oracle* at *Delphos* against the *Amazones*, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid them implore his succour in these words "ἰὴ Παιάν. [l] *Hanc vocem, id est,* "ἰὴ Παιάν, *confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo regnante. Namq; inituros bellum jussit his ipsis verbis semetipsum auxiliatorum invocari, hortatriq;*. I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, saies the [m] *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* is a song or hymne praying for the ceasing of a plague, or war, nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io* [n] *Scaliger* hath already found *Iao*, & *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Iehova*; *Pæan* then comes from פָּנָה to look, so that *Io Pæan* is in force *Iehova Penoh* LORD LOOKE UPON Us, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as possibly he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare honour, if he could. The remnants of these words the [o] *Symerons*

[c] Macrob. Sat. 1 p. 252.
[d] Aristoph. Nub p 203.
[e] Aristoph. Sch. p 611. g.
[f] Natur. 1. p. 257.
[g] Macrob. Sat 1. c. 9.
[h] Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.
[i] Sat. 1 c. 9.
[k] In fin. lib. 14. Dip.
[l] Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 17. pag. 253.
[m] In Plut. pag. 58.
[n] Græc. Trag.
[o] Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing *Yó Pekó*, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of παμμήτωρ or ἐμπορ[illegible]ος, deemed to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen He is the God of craft; so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed [illegible]ειότος, *Very profitable*, from ἔω, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the market place called [illegible]ρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named Προπύλαιος, as likewise Στροφαῖος from στρέφω, to turne, because he was set up behinde the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in *Aristoph. Schol.*

f Aristop. p. 110. Ach. p. 410.

q. Arist p. 260.

a Aristop. 304

b Paus. p. 20. l. 35.

c Pag. 110.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. Ἀναιτίης.

Saturne was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witnesse the feasts kept in honour to him called Κρόνια witnesse a Temple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of Κρονικαὶ γνῶμαι, *Saturninæ animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which *Demosthenes*; where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient patron of this Citie, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in navigation, hence Ἀσφάλιος. *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the sacriledge of one who had stole a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μηνύτης or *Index Hercules*, as *Tully*.

d Paus. p. 16. l. 37.

e Aristop. πλ. p. 61.

f p. 536. n. 46.

g περὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ Ἁλ.

b Aristop. p. 403.

i Pausan. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione, l. 1.

Neither

Neither were they contented with such a quantitie, but canonized more dayly, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them [l] ἄναξ, ἀναξῶ γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν ὁπωσιλαῶν ἢ φυλάττοντας ὅπως καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἅπαντας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently observe it ἄναξ ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to bee Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *The Tueler God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer*. χρύσην ἧσι ἄνασσεις. The word simply put for God in [o] *Aristophanes*, [p] τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἄνακτα καὶ Σωτῆρα Κάλλιν. To these may be put *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychus*. *Aristomachus*. the Phylitian *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see [q] *Meursius*) made of men, as *Sylanion* and *Parrhasius* that made the statute of [r] *Theseus*.

[l] Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.

[m] In Hippol. p. 507.
[n] Iliad. 2.
[o] In Avib. p. 578.
[p] Eurip. Sch. p. 507.
[q] In Athen. Act l. 3. c. 1. & 7.
[r] Plut in Th. p. 2. l 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho. Venere, Eumenidibus. Hecate, Juvene, Prometheo, &c.

[a] In panath.
[b] In verrem. 5
[c] Nonnus ad Naz. 5 [illegible].
[d] Vide Plut. in Alcib.
[e] Cap 7.
[f] Aristop. Sch. p. 85.
[g] Aristi. p. 222.
[h] Idem p. 129.
[i] Clem. Alex. p. 19.
[k] Vide Æsch. in Eumen & Scho Soph. in Oed. Col.

MInerva the especiall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in [a] *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rights *longe maximis & occultissimis cerimoniis continentur*, saies [b] *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from [c] μυεῖσθαι, to hide; [d] death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his [e] *Eleusiana* of the initiation into these stewes. They were of two sortes. [f] Greater to *Ceres*, lesse to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the sonne of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted [g] and a double tide holy to him. *Dionysia* [h] *parva* and [i] *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour, and sacrifice in which they offered to her [k] money the price of an whore. [l] *Eumenides* were first a-

dored by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Iudgement* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by
k In Theogonia *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, the
l Pauſ. p. 27. l. 3. venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered drinke offerings,
m In Eumen. p. 275. without wine though at mid-night, a cuſtome peculiar to
n Ariſtop. p. 228 them alone, as *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that *Bacchus* his feaſts were kept in the night, whence
o Loco Citato he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragoedian.

ὦ νυκτίσεμνα δῶτορ ἐκ νυκτὸς πυρός
Ἰδοὺ σ' ὄρθρου ὑδρηνὸς κοινὰ Θεῶν.

p In Oedipo Col. p. 271 *Scholiaſt*: ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ νυκτὸς μόναις ἐπιτύμοις ἀπάρχου] By *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet downe. Firſt having
q Æſchylus loco præd clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountain water, and having filled three cups with water and hony (hence termed q πηδάλια μειλίγματα) the mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll of a young ſheep, turning himſelf towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholy: then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of olive on the place where he caſt his χοὰς, he uttered his conceaved ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken.
r Vide Interp. Hor. illud Diva triformis *Hecat* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three waies met, ſuppoſed to be the Moon in heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. ſ To her the richer ſort every new
ſ Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 63. Moone made a feſt in the croſſe waies, ſetting bread and other proviſion, which the poore greedily fed on, and were ſo
t Pag. 64 ravenous after, that t *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes* complaines, that they ſnatcht it before it could be laid downe. Reference to this hath Ἐκατῆια κατεσθίειν, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in u *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeems to object, as a ſordid or wicked thing, indeed βωμολόχος, which ſignifies one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices frō the Altar imports ſometimes *impious*, Βωμολόχος & ἀσεβής. *Schol.* * *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tells us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices. x Καὶ γὰρ ἱερῶν δὲ οἱ πένητες ζῶσιν. *Iunoes* rites

u In Orat. περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φορμίωνα. p. 693. n. 59.
* In Nubes p. 176.
x In Plut. 63.

were

were performed in great pomp with haire over their ſhoulders and downe the back, in a veſture that ſwept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo minced, that [a] Ἡσσίον βαδίζον, *Iunonium incedere*, is to goe ſtately. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch-dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which ſuperſtitiouſly they beleeve him to have ſtolne out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſſe either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introducted by [b] *Philippides*, and [*] Σφραγῖτιδες Νύμφαι. *Sphragitides Nymphæ*, after the *Perſian* overthrow.

a Vide Schottum in Proverb. Iſaacum Cauſab. in Athen. l. 12 c. 5. p. 138

b Cl. Alex. p. 22.

* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ Φασιλίδες. Ἑρμαί. *Phacaſitani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their dores erected ſtatues which they called [c] Θεοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις, becauſe they were expoſed to the Sunne. Neither had they theſe alone, but certain others ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ*, *Mercurials*. The faſhion of them was divers. for firſt they were not ἀνεστραμμένοι, *perfectio veretro*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as [d] *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legges, untill the *Athenians* made the ἀχῶλους, according to [e] *Pauſanias*. The manner was this. *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of foure corners.* The head only and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, [f] *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncoq́; ſimillimus Hermæ.
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them [g] ἀγύιδε without limbs. On the lower part of them were certain verſes engraven, containing the praiſes of ſome well deſerving

c Vide Heſychium & Dionyſium Petavium in Themiſtium

d In Euterpe p. 48.

e In Atticis p. 22. l. 14.

f Sat. 8. v. 52.

g Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 332 & G. Langbaine in Notis ad Longinum. περὶ ὕψους.

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seem to me to have been set up in that gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν Στοά the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; Because they would not stand long about it. Hence χύτροις ἱλάσκεσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little.[h] *Aristophanes.* Χύτροισιν αἰτοῦσ' μεμυδαλωμένοις· μιλίνοις· *Schol.* Ἑψημένοις, αὐτῇ τῇ ἐυτελείᾳ, *in Pace.* Now to the creating of their Images it will not be unseasonable to adde something of the forme of their gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive then bestow any thing. To which[a] *Aristophanes* alludes, saying,---- κἀγὼ δ' Θεοὶ. Γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τι κἀγαλμάτων. Ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δοῦναί τἀγαθά. Ἔστηκεν ἐκτεταμένα τὼ χεῖρ' ὑπτίας, οὐχ ὡς πιόντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως πλήσῃ. *Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would send downe nothing, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise that these Idols were clothed, is no newes doubtlesse to one meanely versed in the Greeke antiquities. To say that they weare shooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasitani*, from φακασίαι, a kind of low shooes which the *Athenians* called κονίποδες, from κόνις, dust, and πούς, the foot, because they were neere the ground. διὰ τὸ πηλίζειν μὴ δεῖν τῷ κόνει τὸ πόδι, saies[b] *Clemens Alexandrinus.* But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet.[c] *Iuvenal.*

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phacasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

[h] Pag. 693.

[a] Concion. p. 747.

[b] Pæd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

[c] Sat. 3 v. 217.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [d] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fear-full dreames, in [e] *Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius. Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of rings againſt witchcraft as a ſpell, called [f] δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. [g] Spitting into their boſomes thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie*. Of which alſo *Theocritus*, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Divell. Certain it is that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and εἰς τινὰ λόγῳ τιθέναι to contemne or ſet little by, as the [h] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall goe into the ſtreets κατὰ κεφαλῆς λύσασθαι *Theophraſtus*. Anointing of ſtones, [i] diverſ it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖς. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulneſſe by [k] *Iacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillowes, and ſet it up, & powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeene ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, of which [a] *Terence*. *Introit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [b] Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) crolling his way, the Mouſe eating his ſalt-bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whoſe clothes the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him.

[d] Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
[e] Rhenis p. 274 vide & Æſch. in Perſis.
[f] Ariſtop. Pl. p. 88. f.
[g] Theoph. Ch. p. 49.
[h] Antigonen.
[i] Charact.
[k] Gen. 28. 18.
[a] In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
[b] γαλῆ. Theoph.

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and [c] *Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the standing upon a grave was a great religion δεισιδαιμονίαν. Furthemore observing of daies good & bad, of which [d] *Hesiod*, ἄλλην μητρυιὰ ἄλλην δ' ἐπὶ παμ. that one is a stepdame, another a mother. [e] Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the [f] Moone: not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light, at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*: ὠκυτόκιον ὠνησάμην. Of the vertue I speake nought. [g] *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the Women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joyne to this the sneezing over the right shoulder, or the right side, [h] πταρμοὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν. Observation of διοσημείας, or sudden stormes, as the [i] Sch. of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. [k] Cutting off their haire, and sacrificing it to Rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the proverb, [l] γλαῦξ ἵπται, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπταται for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. [m] ἡγοῦντο τὴν γλαυκὴν νίκης σύμβολον τῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐσομένης. They ever accounting it so since the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greekes* seeing an Owle took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana*. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ταύτης διαφθάσης παρῆναν Ἕλλησιν ἐπικῆσαι. Other madnesse of theirs was sleeping in the [n] Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, [o] for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I mistake not. What shal I say of [p] putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greeke is πρῖνος may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*; and punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distra-

[c] In Hip. p. 903 vide etiã Eustath. in Ιλ. ω.
[d] ἐν ἔργοις δ' ἡμ.
[e] Plut. Pericle p. 123. l. 35.
[f] Plut. Nicia, p 392. l. 21.
[g] Lib. 4. c. 11.
[h] Plut. Them. p. 85. l. 25.
[i] In Ach. p. 379 & p. 424
[k] Paus. Art. p. 35. l. 31. vide Eust. in Il. B.
[l] Aristop. Vespis. p. 508.
[m] Zenobius.
[n] Aristop. pp. 44 66. T. 438
[o] Petronius.
[p] Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

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ſted had ſlaine a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius*? Thus farre haue we gone Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men * Οπτικειτικὸν Οιωνιστικὸν Ἡπατικὸν Θυτικὸν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in [a] *Xenophon*. ὀνειροκριτικὸν, *the interpretation of dreames*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceaue of things offered to our fancie in ſleepe, as that of *Hecuba* dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; & that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhee ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarians* and *Greeke* women, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients tearmed ἐνύπνιον ἰᾶσιν, *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deitie--κ᾽ ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἦλθ᾽. [b] *Homer*. The skill in them is ἐξ ὀνείρων ἃ χρὴ καὶ μὴ χρήσαι, πλανᾶσθαι τὴν δυσκρισίαν (γινεσίζειν) to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art, certaine books written of that ſubiect. [d] κ᾽ ἀὴν ἴσασθαι τινες τίχναι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ as *Artemidorus* his *Oneirocritica*. Οιωνιστικὸν, *Soothſaying by birds* when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. [e] *Æſchylus*. Ταμιεύων τὴν πᾶσιν ὀρνίθων σκεδαστὰς Διὸς θοὰς λιχὰς θύνας, Εὐώνυμά τε, καὶ Φάτνας λιτὰς ἔχειν ἔδρας, καὶ ποῖ ἀλλήλας πίπτει [illegible] καὶ τίς γένηται ξυμφορὰ καὶ σωτηρία. It was formerly ſtiled [f] [illegible], ἅτε ἀπὸ πλούτου πεζουμένου ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὀίησει ξυμβαίνον) which the minde doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any diuination in Greeke writers, but moſt properly ἡπατοσκοπικὸν which [g] *Telegonus* is related to haue found not according to *Nonnus*, but according to [h] *Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὸν looking into the Liuer or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, [f] λοβὸς τῆ πυέλῳ ὁμοιότατον as likewiſe the ſoundneſſe, hence taken as a prodigie λοβὸς ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου καθηλῶ, in [k] *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liuer (like the outmoſt parts of the vine leafe, ſaies *Iſidor*) not to be ſeene, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

[a] Ἀνάβασ. α. initio.

[b] Iliad. τ.

[c] Æſchy Pto. p. 33.

[d] Euſt in Il. α. p. 36.

[e] Pag. 33.

[f] Ariſtides, T. 3. p. 25.

[g] Nonnus Διονυσ. l. 5. α. οβ.

[h] Nat. hiſt. l. 7 c. 56.

[i] Æſch. lóco citato.

[k] Pag. 357. l. 37.

Ovid, cæsumq; caput reperitur in extis. Θυηπὸν, in marking the flame of the sacrifice burnt,[1] φλογομαντήματα, the Tragœdian calls thē, by which they could foretell events. More doubtlesse had they waies of witchcraft, as the other Greeks ἐνόδιον, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, *Æschylus* tearmes them [a] ἐνοδίους συμβόλους Sch. πρὸ ἐξαπίνης See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on these words *Puer è trivio*. The Scholiast of [a] *Aristophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, they made, quoth he, whom they met first as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the salutation, which [b] *Sophocles* calls εὐφήμου σήματος θεσπίδος, wishing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, & the Latines [c] *hoc bonis auibus visus &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to [d] *Ceres*, as the Greekes, whence proceeded that Ζῆθι, which we imitate in our GOD HELP YOU, as often as we see any man so purging his head. Which not to haue proceeded frō any deadly disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικὸν at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the house or when the oyle cruse is dry, honey, wine, water is spent, to guesse at future things. Of this [e] *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὸν Palmistrie, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the [illegible] they can judge of freenesse in housekeeping, of mariage & posterity, of which [f] *Helenus* once left a monument. Πλημυσκικὸν, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the body as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde *Posidonius* was an author exposed to the world Ἐγγαστριμυθία, as that wherein the *Witch of Endor* was experienced, out of the lower parts of whose belly the Divell spake. The first that practised this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this spirit of prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖς, *Euryclitæ*, as the [g] *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* who cals this art [h] Εὐρυκλεῖος μαντεία, *the divining of Eurycles*. Νεκυομαντεία, where after solemne sacrifices they were wont to call upon the

[1] Æsch. loco citato.

[a] In Au. p. 574

[b] In Oed. Tyr. initio

[c] Ovid. Fast.

[d] Sch. Aristoph loco citato.

[e] Nonnus in Nazi

[f] Nonnus.

[g] In Vesp. pag. 503.

[h] Ib p. 502.

the ſoules of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As [i] *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held the ſpirits of their parents & kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſaies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos ſcriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum*, to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchers they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing & deteſting ſpeaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead*. Of this [l] *Ariſtophanes* makes mention, & [m] *Homer* in his *Odyſſes*. This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, [a] for with great mourning they invocated κακοποιὸς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſignes. It may moſt fitly haue the name of *Nigra Magia*, [b] for ſo the Wiſards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived ſeemes to haue beene found by the [c] *Medes* & *Perſians*, whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi*, great Philoſophers as [d] *Laertius* is witneſſe. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick. [e] Ἐπίληπτός ἐστι δυμέτων ἀγαθοποιὸν σὺν ἀγαθῷ τινος οὖσαν φαρμακείαν, is a giuing of *philtrum*, a medicine for the procurement of loue, or rather enraging of luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to bee eaten; which to haue power over ſwine is credibly reported dk [o] σκινομαντεία, Tricks with a paire of ſheeres & ſiue, of which *Theocritus*. [f] Ἀξινομαντεία, to take counſell of an hatchet, taking it and laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a key and Bible. Ἀσεχγλομαντεία, by the caſting of the dice to aske the number of wiues, children, farmes, &c. which anſwer to the quatity of the chance. [g] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλφεσιμαντεία, done by corne. [h] Ἀειδμαμαντεία, by taking the letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by the value of them to judge the conqueſt, as they ſaid of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*. Ὀρνιθομαντεία, making a circle they divided it into foure & twenty parts

[i] De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
[k] Dæmonomaniæ l. 2. c. 3
[l] In Avib. p. 613 a.
[m] Lib. λ.
[a] Nonn. in Naz.
[b] Vide Bodin.
[c] Vid. Nonn.
[d] In Proœm.
[e] Nonnus.
[f] Vide Odyſ.
[g] Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
[h] Delrio Diſqui. Mag. l. 4. c. 2. q. 5. loc. 7.

and on each part made a letter, & putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he tooke up the graine, they at last joyned them together, & so knew their successours husbands, &c. Στιχομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speakes of the arrivall of *Achilles* within three dayes at *Thessaly*. [i] *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And because Poems were accounted prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for fore-telling or divination. [a] I know the chief Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kinde of holy fury spake to those who asked counsaile. Whence the word [b] μαντικὴ at this time read for Soothsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madnesse. And yet that their cunning men had a kinde of lottery, is as cleere as day, the [c] Scholiast of *Euripides* testifying; one it seemes in matters of question, so κλῆρον λαχεῖν may intimate as much as to undergoe triall, Predictions there were, [d] saith *Eustath*, out of signes & wonders, as also of the noise that leanes make when they are burned. To which some adde ἐσσιμαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

[i] Wier de magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

[a] Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut

[b] Artstid. T. 3. pag 25.

[c] In Hippol. pag. 580.

[d] In Il. a p. 36

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods in Greek, νεὼς, or ἱερὸν. And sacred to their Demi-Gods most properly ἡρῷα. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

first originall of their Tẽples was the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceased. [c] νίκησε δ' ὁ ἥμισυς ὃν σμαραγδίνους πόρους ἢ λιθοδμήτους τοῖς πρὶν πάροιθε νεὼς ὑπερκαλύπτει. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Pallas*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περίῤῥαντήριον, the other ἔσω [f] *Casaubon* tels us that περίῤῥαντήριον was that holy water set at the doore of the Temple, with which every one that entred into the Temple besprinkled himselfe, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others haue written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Priests to come. The [g] Schol. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idoll which they worshipped in anciẽt time a rude table or stock [a] ξόανον *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Iuno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named [b] ξόανον, διὰ τὸ ἐξεσθαι τῆς ὕλης, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these ceremonies. That a womã neatly trimmed & deckt in a purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beanes, pease, & the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulnesse for their first food, [c] ἀχαιοῖσιν ἐπήνυσεν ἡ θεὸς ὧδε. For as much as I cõceaue out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was cõsecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερὸν or ναὸν, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. Αὐτὰ δὲ περιέχουσιν ἀγάλματα ξοανοειδῆ θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kinde of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seemes to haue beene a Treasurie both for the Church, and

[c] Vide p. 22.

[f] In Theop. Charact.

[g] In Oed. Tyrannum.

[a] Protreptico p. 23.

[b] Idem.

[c] Schol. Atist. p. 115.

[d] Lib. 1. c. 1. pag. 7.

any soever, who fearing the security of his wealth would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as [e] *Xenophon* is reported to haue done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

Templa vel arcano demens sholiaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods that to doe those offices of nature, I mean venting of excrements too shamelesly seene among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that taxation, as they made the ἀποφθεγμα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that hee could apprehend none saue at last one stranger, whom hee caused to be whipt, with this proclamation THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickednesse, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better haue eased himselfe in the Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ Πυθία ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay so honourably held they these Churches that to them they granted priuiledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who should fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a trespasse upon religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva*, and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides*, and *Mercy*, [a] whose image they would not haue erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Groue. [b] The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to haue beene in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclide*.

[e] Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

[a] Vid. Rosin. [b] Polyd. Virg. in Euripi. *they are presented setting neere the Altar.* T. 2. p. 472.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceaue to haue beene diuers sorts, παράσιτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great dirit ō exagitated almoſt in euery Comœdy, put for a ſhark or ſmel-feaſt, [c] *Edax Paraſitus*-But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet aſide ſuch a parcell of land as they thought the reuenewes thereof would ſuffice for the ſacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certaine men who ſhould receaue or gather the harveſt. *Crates*, [d] ἱ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εἶτα ἐκλογὰς αἰρούμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publike ſacrifices defraied. Hence πολλὰ μεγάλα *Introitus magni*, great yearely ſubſtance is uſed for great ſacrifice in [e] *Ariſtophanes*. Scholiaſt. ἔστιν δὲ ἱλάσιον τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶν θείων θυσιῶν. Κήρυκες. *Cerices*, the ſame ſignifies a cride, but in ſacred functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *victim*. [f] *Anthenio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honour to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth victuals, the fleſh of ſheep and oxen, while before they deuoured each other raw. They take their name from [g] *Cerix* the ſon of *Mercury* & *Pandroſus*. But [h] *Caſaubon*, κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον. *A præſtantiore parte numeris quod obibant, ſic dicti. Idem namq; & beſtias macta bant, adolebantq;*, &c. They in the time of diuine rites craued the ſilence of the people in theſe words, εὐφημεῖτε σιγᾶτε πᾶς ἐγω λεώς Be whiſt all yee people. Good words, for ſo εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Hora* e ſtly interprets when he ſaies, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When ſacrifice was ended they diſmiſſed the congregation with theſe words λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which cuſtome he unſit ly looked who derived the Maſſe from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by [a] *Wechelius* from *Maſal* the Hebrew which availes as much as to praiſe. Μυσταγωγοὶ, the

[c] Terent.

[d] Secun. Att. Dialect. apud Athen. p 235.

[e] Avib. p. 581.

[f] Apud Athen. l 14. p. 661.

[g] Vide Salm. in Inſcripti. Pollucem, l. 8.

[h] Jn Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

[i] Caſaub. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

[a] In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacramento.

the same with[b] Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to see their Bable)[c] *Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν *Hierophanta* so called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά, opening the holy things. Ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτι Ἱερωφάντης.[d] The learned Bishop, upon that place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to doe in those sacred businesses. Πυροφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war & danger. Hence of bloody fight we say ὁ Δὲ πυροφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidē*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. Ἱεροποιοί, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom[e] *Nicander* calls ζάκοροι from[f] κορεῖν τὸ κοσμεῖν, to be decent, because they kept the Temples clean and swept them as *Ion* in[g] *Euripides* speakes. These were the παραφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies[h] *Aristotle*. And yet wee read that the *Parasiti* did sometimes looke to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should bee restored againe. Ἰαδοῦς in[i] *Aristophanes* likewise termed σκύτιλοι. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, [k] whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, [l] the trotters and skinnes, as the [m] *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations (& perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to [n] *Aristop.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ὑγιαίνοις before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremonie to have beene used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours

[b] Pseudo-Dionys. Eccles. Hier. c. 13

[c] In Stel. 1. p. 63.

[d] L. Mountac of Chichester.

[e] In Alexaph. p. 144.

[f] Aristop. Sc. p. 125.

[g] T. 2. p. 621

[h] In Politic.

[i] In Plut. p. 71

[k] Casaubin in Theoph.

[l] Arist. p. 481.

[m] Arist. p. 101

[n] In Plut. p. 71

neighbours wives bearing record, saies [a] *Christianus*, that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*, There were moreover thee Priests as the Βασίλισσα, in *Demosthenes*, and the Κανηφόροι whom in all things [b] *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

[a] In Aristoph.

[b] Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philosophy is of opinion that Sacrifices first begã after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, frõ whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to doe any sacrince. Neither doth ἀκροθίνια import lesse, For [c] θὶς signifies the bend, or great chest of the garnet, wherein they laid up the harvest thresht and winnowed. ἄκρον, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they should be [d] τελεταὶ ἱερεῖα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certain daies before, [e] ἀφοσιωσάμενον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν, the number of them is not set downe. I take ἀγνεύειν here to abstaine from carnall delights, *Tibull-Discedite ab aris Quos iuuit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, frõ the company of a man to goe to sacrifice, answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 291.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 36. *they called their lean sacrifices* τέλεια καὶ γόνιμα. *hornes and haire, as if naught else*, Arist p. 534. e Demosth. pp. 400. 476.

with flower & salt, in [f] *Aristophanes* ὀλαὶ, in [g] *Homer* ἀλοχύται) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. [h] *Aristophanes* Περὶ δὲ βωμὸν ταχέως δεῖ λιξιὰ this lustration was made with meal & holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called [i] χέρνιψ in which they quenched a firebrand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kinde of cleansing. (Hence [a] χέρνιβας νέμων was forbidden him who they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue.) Then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out [b] Τίς τῆδε; *Who is here*, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί. Many and good. Then they praied [c] *Homer*. Εὐξάμενοι ἔσπεισαν ἰὼ μάκαρσι θεοῖς βωμὸν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ὕπερθεν ἀλοχύτας αἰ' ἔλοντο, τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' ἤυχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they spake with a loud voyce εὐχώμεθα, before they began. *Let us pray*. Supplications ended they drew the victime so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which [d] *Homer*, αὖ ἐρύσσε. Ἤυσε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὅτῳ ἔδυνε. αἰ' ἀπαλάξαι τῷ ἱερῆι τρήχαλον, ὥστε ἀφορᾶν, ὡς εἰς ἥρωας. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downewards. Then they slew him & skin'd him, and cutting out the * huck shinbones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσση (hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by [e] *Nazianzen*, κνίσσῃ χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burne all out in a great flame: [f] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁλοκαυτωθεῖσι τοῦ μηρὸς λαμπρῶς κατασκεθέντας πυρὶ. For the Grecians accounted it unlucky if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not κλῆρωμα: upon the μηροὶ they cast small peeces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοβοεῖν. The reason *Eustathius* gives, [g] ὡς δοκεῖν πάντα καίεσθαι, ὅλα ὅπου τὰ μέρη τῆς ἱερείας καρπώσεως, that they might seem to consume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

[f] In pace p. 695.
[g] Ιλ. α. with these ἀλοχύται the Greeks ever began sacrifice, the Romans Fur Dionys. Halic. l. 2. n. 4.
[h] Loco laud.
[i] Athen. l. 9. p. 405.
[a] Sophocles Oed. Tyr.
[b] Aristoph. p.
[c] Ιλιαδ. α.
[d] Ιλιαδ. α.
* Μηρία.
[e] In Stel.
[f] Eustath. p. 101. Ιλ.
[g] Loco laud.

reason of which injunctiõ, they did so strain curtesy of their Gods, that the liberall or niggardly sort of people would tel that which was left. & so make gain of their devotion. [h] Τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα πάλαι ἐφ' ἑστίαν τὰ γέρα ἀπεδίδοσαν saies *Theophrastus*, Where [i] *Casaubon* notes. *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe.* They offered the hanch bone or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to understand the spleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sense we say ἔσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, & [k] εὔσπλαγχνος a courageous, as the [a] Scholiast of *Sophocles* teaches us, & τὸ σπλάγχνα ἐλεῖν the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the rest to roast. For whē they had finished their devotions, they let the reyns loose to all manner of voluptuousnesse, gluttony, and drunkennesse. For oft times they left nothing of their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb, ἑστίᾳ δόσις, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publiquely they begun to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did so is plaine. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once ἀπ' ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on [b] *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be [c] sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calfe: to sacrifice they simply termed ῥέζειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. [d] Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molas*, which the Greeks call [e] σιλάγματα meale, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and wine, as the [f] Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part, as [g] *Demosthenes*. In

[h] Th Charac.

[i] Pag. 336.

[k] In Ajacem Lorarium.

[b] Vide p. 582.

[c] Vide Pollucem l. 1.

[d] In Bucolicis

[e] Casaub. in Theop. P. 237.

[f] Pag. 701. D

[g] Pag. 378.

their oblations the μάγειροι or chokes gave the [h] 10. part to the *Prytanes*, So ἀντὶ δεκάτης κοιλία, put for ἱερεῖα where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristop.* on ἀντὶ δεκάτης τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖα ἔσχατα κοιλίας. ἔδει γὰρ ἔχειν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν ἐνδεκάτων τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δίδυμα. Νῦν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντὶ δεκάτης ἔχοντα ὠμίαν, &c.

[h] Schol. Arist. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred & sixty daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude antiquity ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space. Which according to [a] *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found seaven daies deficient, they supplied them by adding * 2 to every end of the yeare, called ἀπάρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eò quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*; Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these foure had but 359 daies, besides the two ἐμβόλιμοι, in respect to the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* games, ever kept in the * full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Nevertheless the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eight year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the course might still returne the same. This all *Greece* observed, saies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυσίειος, by the People of *Elis* an *Olypiad*. What kind of Lunary yeare was in use among the Grandsires of *Greece*, is not

[a] De Doct. Temp l. 1. c. 1

* Negat. Petitus Miscel l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirmat

[b] M. *Selden* in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch Chro.

* id est, *The fifteenth day.*

[c] De D Tem. T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inserted, once of 29 D. another time of 28 D. but because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moone 15. D. *itaq; Tetraeteridas fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 D. 723 & 722 make 1445. So many daies 154 foure times doubled hath, if you please to adioyne 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand [f] *Geminus*. Τὸν μὲν τετραετηρίδος ἦγον, τὸν δ' ἐμβολίμου παρ' ἑαυτῶν. *That must be duly vnderstood*, quoth he, *for they did number the Months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithstanding they had but* 29. [g] *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sense, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29. ½. ⅓. and [i] *Vlpian*, ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 29. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supputed 29 D. [k] *Theon* Μείωσι δὲ λέγουσι, τὸ ἀπὸ σωδεκάτης Σελήνης ἕως Ἡλίου χρόνον δεῖ σωδεκάτου, ὃς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα σωδέκατον ἡμέρας ἀκύρου, τὸ ἐν τῷ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ χρόνον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μεῖον ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸς τῷ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγὴν καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civill affaires. And now it is in request among many of the Greekes.* But of this enough. Soone was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalander of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D. 4. made up three Months, inserted every third, fift, and eight yeare. But the scruples comming short in sixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three. And seeing still they could not make it even. [a] *Eudemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Moneth 940. of the m 28. ἐμβολιμαῖοι, τὴν δὲ τάξιν τῶν ἐμβολίμων ἐμείων ἐλάμβανον, saies *Geminus*. This was the progresse of their reformation.

d Eclog Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not so home* Lib. de doct Temp. 1 c 6.

* *each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *ioyned* annus magnus.

e Loco Laud.

f Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36.

g In Auctario

h Loco citato

i In Arg. Orat. contra And. p. 380.

k In Arati Diosem. p. 74.

a Geminus p. 38 *Whom I follow, not ignorant that* Meton *was the first that made the cicle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτὸς. Metons *yeare is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we muſt look back again and conſider that they counted their year two waies. Firſt o[f] ὀκτάετις, as hath been already ſpoken, next ὀκταετηρὶς, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι full and deficient, that is, one 29. the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The firſt, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Syncope* or contraction of the words νεμηνία. The ſecond δεύτερα, ἡ β. The eight ἡμισεῖαι, or halfe full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τετράδες, ἃς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς συμβαίνοντος, becauſe that in the daies of *Thales Mileſius*, who was the author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I ſuppoſe αἱ εἰκὰς καὶ τετράδες, ſignify the dead, the period of whoſe life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sunne; *Sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheleſſe that the yeare might be correſpondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt Month *Scirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the yeare had 365 D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added, ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greeks to have reckoned, although they accounted their months but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *Aratus* ſtiles μίγαν ἐνιαυτόν. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the years by ſeed time. *Sophocles* -- ἑλομένων Ἀέθλων ἔτος εἰς ἕτος. For the ancients, ſaies *Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sunne; or ſeaſons, as ſpring, ſummer, autumne, winter, (*Sophocles.* ἐξ ἥρας εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἰμμιλὲς χείμας Χειμῶνι δ' ὕδη --) or thirdly by the Moone: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhee on the ſame day overtook and ſurpaſſed the Sun, ἃ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ᾗ καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρερχομένη τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called ἕνη καὶ νέα the Old and New, becauſe that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

b Then were all the monthes of 30 D. as you may ſeeIn Schol. Ariſtoph Achar. p. 412. c.

c Gem. p. 32.
d Laertius in vita.
e Pollux l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

a In Ἀτοσσ. p. 78.
b In Antigon. p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedipo Tyran p. 183
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch.
g Laert. in vit.

the precedent Month; and that remnant which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces [b] *Aristus* calls σωιδόντων μλωῶν μερῶν) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his [i] *Odysses* termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it τὸ μὲν φθίνοντος μλωὸς, τὸ δ' ἱσαμένοιο Where we may note that then they had no μετώνυμος, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, used by [k] *Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐν δωδεκάτῃ and δωδεκάτῃ ἐπιπρωαίου. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, πεμπτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, *the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne*, and so to twenty, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, & the light almost lost, they changed the order and used δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐνάτῃ; &c. *the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty nine, δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, *the second of the decrease, or from the end*, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the thirtieth they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Month ending was φθίνων [l] Ἐκλείπει φθίνων ἄσπερ καὶ φθίνουσι δοκεῖ πᾶσα. Because the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novaq; pergunt interire Lunæ.* [m] *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum* φθίνοντα *dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis imputatio in nomen desinit recurrere: & ἐπιλείπον illum, qui præcedit numerum succedentis priori in defectum meanti.* Ἐπιλείπον standing to supply the place of the departing Month; fixed and still waiting until the Moon shall have journied to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, [n] *Stat sua cuiq; dies*, unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moone Hence read we μῆνας καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do who manage politick businesses, or belonging to goverment. In which course they made their yeare of CCCLIIII daies, which divided into ten parts make ten times

b In Diosem. p. 125.
i Odyss. ξ. pag 164.
k Contra Timocratem. p. 446 n 39.
* Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laudat.
l Vlpian in Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius Sat. l. 1. c. 16.
n Æneid. 10. p. 330.

times 35, which ſpace each [a] πρυτανεία ruled in its turne, the foure that abounded were called ἐπαφαιρέσιμοι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The yeare thus diſpoſed, th Months muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as [b] *Geminus*. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀγοντες ὅλοκληρίσιμον λαμβανόμενοι μηνιαῖοι χρόνοι εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ, ὥστε τὰ ἥμισυ γίνεσθαι ἡμέρας νθ. ὅθεν δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ὅτι κατὰ πόλιν μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἀγονται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι διὸ τὸ τὰ Σελήνης ἥμισυ ἡμερῶν λθ ϛ. If a Month have 29 D. ½, two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the Sun on this day, untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [d] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon-ſleep, --ἀκρήσιος δ' ὕπαρ. *To take reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the ancients wrought but ſix houres in the day. [e] *Martial*, *ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.* Which [f] *Euſtath* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. Θ. I. were the notes of the 7.8.9.10. houres, which joyned make ζῆθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Laborers *Reſt*. The begining of the yeare was [g] *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, ſaies [h] *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet downe in a [i] Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mamacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

[a] Argum. Or. Dem. contra Androt pag. 3[10].

[b] Elemen. Aſtronom. p. 31

[c] Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin nat hiſt l. 2 c. 77.

[d] In Theriac.

[e] Lib. 4. Ep 8.

[f] In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν ζῆνυ· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆθι.

[g] Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

[h] Chronol. Eclog.

[i] In 4° num. 24. p. 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Ægypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ιανουάριος.	Δύστρος.	Σέβατ.	Τυβὶ.	Αὐλαῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Ἀδὰρ.	Μεχεὶρ.	Περίτιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Μάρτιος.	Ξανθικὸς.	Νισὰν.	Φαμενὼθ.	Δῖος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀπρίλλιος.	Κρεῖος.	Ἰάϊβ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	Ξανθικὸς.	Πυανεψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Ψιβὰν.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμὺζ.	Παυνὶ.	Δαῖσιος.	Ποσιδεών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκῖνος.	Ἀβ.	Ἐπηφὶ.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγουστος.	Λέων.	Μὰλ.	Μεσορὶ.	Λῷος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Σεπ-

Σκιροφοριών.	Παγκρατίου.	Θαλοῦ.	Θυσία.	Τοξεύματος	Πλαταιϊκῶν.
Ὀκτώβριος.	Ζωγράφου.	Μυρτιᾶ.	Φαινῖ.	Ταξιαρχίδαιος.	Μυστηρίων.
Νώμβριος.	Σκυτέως.	Χαλκῆ.	Ἀδυεῖ.	Δίου.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τίτου.	Χοιάκ.	Δωδώνης.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Month *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as [a] *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting of which by & by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their Easter began the yeare in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*, as [b] he himselfe testifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the yeare from *July* to the seaventh of *October* it is like that they began at *Mamacterion* according to this [c] rule.

[a] Eclog Chr. p. 214.

[b] Loco laud.

[c] Ex *MS* Bibliotheca Bodleianæ in 8°. n. 8

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certain it is that the same *Attick* Months are sometimes Lunary, and sometimes not, but of 30 D. or *Julian*; When they are Lunary they have no sure seat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reason why the same Months have not been suted to the *Julian*, by writers.

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

Vlpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to [e] *January*, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and againe to [f] *April*. [g] *March* he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets [h] *June*. *Elaphebolion* [i] *November*, [k] *September* (in the margin *February*) and [l] *December*. [m] *Thargelion*, *April*. *Munychion* *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are cursorily noted by [n] *Petit* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar* they were charged to conforme their year to the *Julian*, they [o] thus numbred.

[e] Pag. 21.
[f] Pag. 163.
[g] In Olynth. 3
[h] Pag. 148.
[i] Pag. 140.
[k] Pag. 167.
[l] Pag. 120.
[m] Pag. 167.
[n] Eclog Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213
[o] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. pag. 139.

Menses Attici.	*Menses Juliani.*
Ἐλαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μουνιχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιροφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσιδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, so much only. We must handle their Lunary year because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as [a] πάντων χοῦν ἐκ Διονυσίων. So much and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

[a] Aristoph. p. 806. c.

Hecatombæon. *July.*

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου. Πρυτανεία πρώτη.
2 Τείτη.
3 Τετράς.
4 Πέμπτη.

5

5 Ἑκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη. * Ἑβδόμη Θησεῖ εἰς Δῆλον. Kept in memory of
7 * Ὀγδόη. the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
8 Ἐνάτη. slaine the *Minotaure*. [b] *Plutarch.* The solemni-
9 Δεκάτη. ty [c] *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Eretthidis fertur celebratior illo Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festivall called *Theseia*, in honor of gathering together the disperied people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μετ' ὄντος.
11 Δευτέρα Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
12 Τρίτη. Κρονία. Of these, as also of the day, speakes
13 Τετάρτη. [d] *Demosthenes*. Then did the Masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals.
15 * Ἕκτη. *L. Accius. Maxima pars Graium Saturno, &*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *maxime Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse*
17 Ὀγδόη. *iterantur ab illis, Cunctique diem celebrant, per agros,*
18 Ἐνάτη. *urbesque fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, famulosque*
19 Δεκάτη. *procurant Quisque suos.*
20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β. Hence was
21 Ἐνάτη. This Moneth called by the ancient *Athenie-*
22 Ὀγδόη. *ans*, Κρόνιος; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατομβαία, sacrifices to *Iupiter* or *Apollo*, as
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the bloud of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa-
26 Τετάρτη. crifices. [f] *Ovid. Taurorum sanguine centum.*
27 * Τρίτη Παναθήναια. [g] The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five and
29 Ἑνὰς καὶ νέα. twenty beasts, whose feet make up the number of an hundred, ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν βάσιν, ἃ δεῖν ἐξ ἑκατὸν ζώων.

* To *Minerva* the protectresse of their City, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as [h] *Plutarch.* τὰ μεγάλα Διάνεια

[b] In vita p. 12
[c] Metamorp. l. 7. Fab. 23. vide illum diligenter. Nam erit operæ pretium.
[d] Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.
[e] In Annalib. vide *Macrob. Satur.* l. 1. c. 7. versus finem.
* *Then were kept the Μοῦνια in memoriall of their transmigration.* Plut. p. 8. l. 9. *By some it is termed* Διάνεια Aristop. pag. 700 Plut. initio Them. l. 22.
[f] Metamorp.
[g] In Il. α. pag. 6.
[h] In vita p. 8.

Συσίαν ἐπώνυμον κοινὴν. At first they had the name Διῶια, by *Eriethonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shewes exhibited to the people, such as horse races wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πυῤῥιχὴ, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in Procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in [i] *Meursius* at large, and [k] *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

i In Panathenæis.

k Pag. 140, 197, 180, 181, 467, 580, 650, 746.

The second of this month is called νέα, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
8
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
18
19
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21

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ς.

* *Boedromion* September.

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare *Platæa*, a City of *Bœotia*; [a] *Herodotus*, [b] *Iustin*.

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which battle when *Cynægirus* pursued the flying enimies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowesse spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enimies.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

*Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας.

*Ἀγυιεύς Μυστήρια.

* In thankfulnesse for the delivery of *Greece*, at what time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. [b] *Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Iupiter* that freed them.

* The greater in which they were made [c] ἐποπται, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυιεύς, perhaps from the concurse of the people

* *From this month came the feasts* Boedromia, *from Theseus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9 *or* Ion *helping the* Athenians *against* Eumolpus, Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid because in necessity they made a cry* Aristophan. Βοηδρομεῖν. Latin. *Quiritari. hence help came in.*

[a] Calliop. p. 234. b lib. 3.

[b] Tom. 1. pag. 257 *see* plut. in Aristid. p. 241.

[c] Sch. Aristoph. pag. 247.

Here I look on Meursius for brevities sake but if you please to read severally, see Aristoph. Sch. p. 85, 98, 131 138, 455. 529, 647, 142 218, 227, 228 231, 233, 217 262, 264, 516 Aristid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex in Protrep. p. 10.

22 * Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The second ἄλαδε μύσται, because the Crier then
23 warned them to goe to the sea. The third day they sa-
24 crificed a Barble, because it devoures the sea hare, an e-
25 nimy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 presenting *Proserpine* gathering flowres, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The
28 fift they ranne with torches. Hence λαμπαδηφορία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἀγών. The sixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp. Hence it is termed Ἰακχος. The seaventh day they exercised in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The eight was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corne, and setting one at East and the other at West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὑὸς, the other to the ground, saying, πλῆθι. Thus *Meursius*. That day was πανσπερμία.

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies [a] *Plutarch*, insteed of which some are perswaded, the name only was omitted, as πρώτη for τετάρτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη εἰκοστός, or ἐνδεκάς, as in a defective Month δεκάτη εἰκοστός, for the twenty. Of this judgement is the [b] worthy *Petavius*.

[a] Sympos. Q. l. 9. c. 6. fin l. de Is. & Osir. p. 331.

[b] Lib. de doct. Temp. l. c. 5. p. 11. D.

* Mæmacterion is to be inserted here.

* *Pyanepsion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the feasts *Pyanepsia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving, they put it into one pot, and seething it, were jovially altogether at the same.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
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Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, hee would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beanes. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, κυαμέψια. For the antiques called beanes πύαμους.

Ἄδος εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Θεσμοφόρια. [c] *Plautus* calls this festivall *vigilias Cereris*. which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chast, strowing their beds with *conyza* for that purpose, it being an enimy to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that took their liquor freely. The number of daies were three allotted, as some, or foure, as others. When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, is false; for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewne. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes first, as shee is termed μήτηρ θεσμοφόρος. Of these you may read [d] *Aristophanes* and his Scholiast.

[c] In Aulularia

[d] Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

Πρωταισία. δ.

* Ἀπατούρια. Kept this Moneth. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, I suppose for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for foure daies.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. The first was Δορπία. The second Ἀναρρύσεις. The third Κυρεῶτις. The fourth, Κύβδα.

Καλχεῖα. In honour to *Minerva*. [f] *Meursius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

[f] Græcia Feria. l. 2.

Mæmacterion

Mæmacterion. November.

This month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as M. *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept of as most approved.

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7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, saies that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greekes* send yearely some to sacrifice to
18 the memory of those that died at *Platæa*, and every five
19 year they have great pastimes, which [a] he sets downe
20 the manner of.
21
22
23 Πρυτανεία. δ. This month is derived from *Iupiter Mæmactes*: for I suppose they
24 first found Gods, afterward festivals to them. Not the
25 months first, and then named the Gods for them.
26

[a] Pag. 141.

27
28
29

Posideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this month was sacred to him, as [b] *Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσιδεὼν ἱερός. [b] In Theoph. Char. ult.

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2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

5 Λήναια. *Dionysia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς.* Without the citty, It
seems when they had gathered in vintage
6 and presſed their grapes. Λὶνος *Torcular*. Then were they
7 moſt jocund, as may appeare out of that. *Like the voice of*
8 *them that tread the Wine-presse*, and in [c] *Oppian.* Ληναίης [c] Κυνηγ. α.
9 χαίρων. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittershusius* takes v. 127.
10 Λιναιῶν to be *January*. [d] Pagina 18.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull [e] *Demosten.* [e] Pag. 743.
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεία. ς.
30

Gamelion. January.

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
3 on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people coup-
4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-
5 cred to *Iuno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*
6 *jugalis*, President of weddings and the Marriage bed.
7
8
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
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27
28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
29

Anthesterion. February.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
3
4
5 Πρυτανεία. ζ.
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11 Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγω, to open, for at the broa-
12 ching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second
13 Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that
14 could drink down the rest
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. of his companions had a
16 golden crowne. The third Χύτροι, I suppose different
17 from Χύτρα. From this Festivall the month is named.
18 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Limnis* were kept,
19 called μεγάλα & ἀγχαύτροι. The 13th were acted Comœ-
20 dies, begun the 3d yeare of the 93d Olympiad, when
21 *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as [a] *Do-*
22 *nat* and [b] *Vivian* witnesse, and [c] *Aristophanes*, "ὅτι πιθοῦς
23 σωτρίχι ἐπιδυμεῖν τὰ χθιζὰ δεύματα βλίτειν, saies one.
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
25
26
27
28

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422. 222.

This day was called Χύτροι *likewise, but not in the sense spoken.*

[a] In Terent. p. 289.
[b] In Demost. p. 184.
[c] Pag. 143.

29
30

Elaphebolion. March.

1
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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ασκληπίαιν. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ή.
11
12
13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.
17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

Of these [c] Æschines makes mention, and you will have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

[c] Contra Ctesiphont.

Muny-

1
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10 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
14
15
16 Μουνύχια. Πρυτανεία ὀγδόη. *Munychia* were observed to *Diana*, who was so called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*. The Month beares the name. In this month were the causes of strangers judged. [a] *Arist. Sc.*
17
18
19 Διάσια. To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greatest day that the *Attick* route was kept in. See of this [b] *Aristophanes* and [c] *Eustathius*.
20
21
22
23
24
25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
27
28
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[a] Arib. p. 609.
[b] Pag. 150. 174.
[c] Ismen. i & Ism. l. 1.

1
2
3
4
5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*, holding it to be their na-
7 tivity. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the
8 people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,
9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time
10 of pestilence, or the like, they sacrificed for the sinnes of
11 the citty, Two in number saies the [a] *Scholiast* of *Ari-*
12 *stophanes*, whence they were called Δημόσιοι: but more
13 properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοί, [b] *Aristophanes*.
14
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.
22 Καλλυντήρια Πρυτανεία. ι.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have it the 25. To *Minerva*, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue,
25 and wash it I suppose, [c] *Plutarch*, [d] *Xenophon*.
26
27
28
29

[a] In Equites pag. 353.
[b] In Ranis.
[c] Pag. 152.
[d] Ἑλλην. α. p. 257.

Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from σκίον, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*. [c] *Schol. Aristoph.* [c] Pag. 497. 715.

Βουφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slaine that beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, hee slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Præbet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.* [d] Satyr. 10. v. 268.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ἡ Φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the foure first Tribes to governe each his day, on those foure that abounded above the yeare, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Manutius* approves

* Athen. Rep. l. 2 c. 3.
* In Notis ad Harpocra.

proves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*, * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first foure.

* D. Doct. Temp. l. 2 c. 1
* D emend. Tem. lib. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdiâ, Satyricâ, & Comœdiâ.

IT is taken for grant among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to speak in Tragœdie; comprehending great and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being more large & using circumlocution in matters of lesse consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundatiõ being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection. *Nam post illius tale tantum inventum, documentum, &c.* saies [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had represented a Tragœdy, by the *Odysses* a Comœdy, most ingenious imitators took those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconsideratly, & without judgment written, impolisht, and in the first rudiments not so neat & trim, as in processe of time they were made. For Poesy was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of [d] *Susarion*, the first Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few as may but witnesse such an Author. The originall of the word Comœdie is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, and so it may be derived from κῶμος, *commessatio*; [e] κωμάζειν, signifying ὡς μέθης αἴσχρως ἄδειν, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, sleep, because when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been inured, it was the custome (as before hath bin spoken) for the party abused, to come in the

[a] Vid. Can. Chron. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.
[b] Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Eustath. in Præf. ad Iliad.
[c] Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. præfat. Terentio.
[d] Marmo. Arundel. & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa eũ Aristophan. νεφ. κομμ. δ.
[e] Sch. in Nazianzen. C. p. 106

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voyce cry, ſuch and ſuch reioyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods & Lawes. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen & much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merrily in the ſtreets & high waies, they laid open every mans life and concealed not his name, [f] *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacresq; veniebant: ibiq; cum nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung [g] in the green Meddowes, [h] about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took & ſowed up cloſe, filled with Wine, & annointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, [i] *Ariſtophanes.* Ἀσκωλιαζ ὑπαΐδα σοῖς πλὴν αἰδέλοις. [k] *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcennia lauds:
Præmiaq; [l] ingentes Pagos & compita circum
Theſeidæ poſuere: atq; inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymoſa poemata*, ſad poems: becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings & great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as [m] *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave occaſion to [n] *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

[f] Donatus de Tra. & Com.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtoph. Th. Magiſter.
[i] Plut. p. 108.
[k] Geor. 2. p. 71.
[l] Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas, interpretis κώμας, μέσας χώρας.
[m] In Epictet. p. 95.
[n] Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slaine; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Not supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning sorrow & lamentation. For so is Τραγῳδία used, as [o] Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragœdy that *Thespis* taught was that of *Alcestus* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as [p] Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as [q] ἀψυχῆ ψιθυλλίαν, a fruitlesse lying. *Horace* of him thus speaks.

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camœnæ
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis.
Quæ canerent agerenti, peruncti fœcibus ora.

Upon which words some have written that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon Waines. But alas a poor conceit! [r] *Franciscus Lusinius Vicensis* is of opinion that *Thespis* carried his scene upon cartes: and *Aaron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plaustris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* [s] I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their owne Fables; And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, saies [t] *Vlpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas actors*, which we now terme *Tragœdi*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a Scene upon a waine drawn in procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the [u] custome was, saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in those ancient times, [*] *Plutarch* shall thus informe you. Ἀμφορέως ὄντων καὶ κλημάτων, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*. In which solemnity the Poets in Waines following the pomp, might without controle laugh, scorne, and deride any they met, saies [x] *Dionysius Halicarnas-*

[o] Athen l. 3. p. 90.
[p] Ad Marm Arund.
[q] Laert. in Solone p 40.
[r] In Horatii Poeticen.
[s] Schol. Arist. p. 142.
[t] In Demost. p. 40.
[u] Stel. β. p. 107.
[*] περὶ φιλοσοφ. p. 343.
[x] Antiq Rom. l. 7.

seus

ſcus; or were wont, as the [y] Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayle upon each other. whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes [z] to celebrate the pomp, or goe in proceſſion in honour to the feſtivall) & [a] πομπεία, a ſcandall or reproach. ὕβρεις λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, [b] ὡσὶ ἐξ ἁμάξης λέγειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and [c] ὡσὶ ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reines to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca, olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyle, ſaies *Donat*, or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by [d] *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονες. *Horace* -- *Perunctis fæcibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, [e] which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head, were defended from the skinne with a wollen cap, named πίλιδιον. A word elegantly uſed by [f] *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the perſons that wrote it. Οὐκ ὄιει δίκαιον ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀδικημάτων κἂν πίλιδιον λαβὼν ἔτι τὴν κεφαλὴν. Think not to eſcape ſcot free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer, of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the ſtage, I will therefore returne to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat.* tels, becauſe (leaſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Capet nomen, pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδή a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico velim certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies, but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet downe of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragicall, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their gods, they did it eſpecial-

[y] Loco Laud.

[z] Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia c. 2 p. 519.

[a] Dem. pro Coron. p. 124.

[b] Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

[c] Vlpian. in loco cit. Dem.

[d] Nubibus p. 141.

[e] Vlpian. in Dem. p. 254.

[f] De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when Actors are called Ἰθύφαλλοι, and πάλαι simply by [g] *Demosthenes*, by *Donat* Artifices. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in [h] *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe and deride each other, which grew afterwards a part of their solemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth ἀπροσδιόρισα, as they terme them, in [i] *Virgils* language, *versus incomptos*, [k] *Numeros insumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte.* For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Hexicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noble-men, & from this in a short time, with small care grew a Tragœdie; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting t o & from hence came a Comœdie. At first small was the difference between a Tragœdy and Comedy, [l] *constat sane, primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is, because even Tragœdies had their wantonnesse and petulency. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cryed downe, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbiall adverb is fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the Satyres did *Præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdy took state they excluded the Satyres, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournfull poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyres were brought in by *Thespis* as [m] *Horace*.

Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functusq; sacris, & potus & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons

[g] *Orat. mu-liebr. p.* 242
[h] Charact. vi. Casaub.
[i] Geor. 2.
[k] Casaub. de Sat. Poesi. l. 1.
[l] Casaub ib.
[m] De arte Poet.

persons are Satyrick & ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyres for sports sake; and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies n *Casaubon. Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventor, who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus's* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* his τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in p *Demosthenes, Vitium ἐς ἀδοκιμώτατον καὶ ἥκιστα ἀγωνιστὴν*, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember. *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarum & tertiarum partium.* q *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere, quam ipse primorum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me speake what I have to say of a Tragœdie. r None was permitted once to act *Æschylus, Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα ἐξαναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ἃ ἐξέσται γε αὐτοῖς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpose by a Law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under custody ἐν κιστῇ. Yet the b Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes, that the people made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδόναι the plaies of *Æschylus* after his death. I put the word διδόσθαι, *dare*. Because Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said εἰς διδασκαλῶν ἐργάζεσθαι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. c *Sed immane quos quantosq; sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab urbibus emendari, ac prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima, & formis Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summa spectatorum fructu,*

n P. 129. de Sat. Poesi.

o Laert. p. 220

p 184.

q In divinat.

r Plutarch. in vita X Rhet. P 452. B.

b Iuxta finem.

c Heinsius Proleg. ad Aristarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subin. de publico suppeditari crederent consilia. Not unduly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdy or Comœdy the Greek writers say, [d] διδάσκειν, *docere fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as sometime διδάσκειν, as you may see in [e] *Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors; so saies [f] *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought greater grace to the stage, & first taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes; which some think *Horace* to aime at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita cignis.* Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινουργῶν, bring in many new things. such as leaving out the actiō of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badnesse of his own voyce; he found out white shooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteene, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. but that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot finde. Somewhat likewise was added by *Euripides*: [g] as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the begining of the Tragœdie, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principall point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation, [h] Sr *Philip Sidney*, is not past by, as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called [i] Διονυσιακοὶ Κριταὶ, and [k] Κριταὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ. Tenne in number think some, at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because

[d] Athenæus Dip. l. 6. pag. 268. vide Casaub.
[e] Pag. 270.
[f] Lib. 10.
[g] Τὸ προεισιτήριον.
[h] *In the defence of Poesie.*
[i] Heinsius in Proleg. ad Aristarchum sacrum.
[k] Æschines cont. Ctesiph.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neare *Gela*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgement upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies & Comœdies. The number of Tragick judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. [m] *Cum neq; provocatio ab iis eſſet, neq; de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, [n] Πέντε κριτῶν ὑπὸ τὸν πέντε. *ſub quinq; Judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertaine. Judges, quoth he, paſſe cenſures upon the Comœdians, & they who had five voyces were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voyces. For the odde gave a great ſtroake. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- Εἰ κριτὴς γενοῖτ' μόνος, to be victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: for whē *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, ἡ θεωτάτην τῆς κριτῆς ἀνῆκεν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γε ἐπὶν, ſaies [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the fathion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes*

[l] Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

[m] Heinſius loco laudato.

[n] Zenobius

[o] Ad Aves p. 562.

[p] Var. H. l. 2.

[q] Av. b p. 562.

nes

nes cals περγεάτην ἐν πρώτοις, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectators. [r] *Aristophanes*.

r Loco laud.

Ορυμαὶ δὴ τύποις πᾶσιν νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι -- Where the Scholiast interprets ὄρυμαι truly as it is to be understood, δέχομαι, to *supplicate*. And good reason. For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use [s] *Aristophanes* points, saying -- ὅτε ἐβάλλετο: nay sometime would they hisse them, which they terme χλαῦζειν & συρίττειν, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call θορυβεῖν, by [t] *Pollux* interpreted ἐβάλλετο ὑπὸ πάντων κατακρότου. Another difference is that [u] the Comick Judges were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they cōfounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority. Before judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said [x] ἐκπίπτειν, by *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia in agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Limnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*, on *Dionysia in urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in [y] *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

(Ranis p. 248

t Lib. 6. c. 19. p. 203.

u Æschines contra Ctesiph. p. 98.

x Heinsius Prolegom. 2 Sat. Poesi.

y Platone pag. 220.

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures,* saies *Casaubon*: Sometime in the same yeare three, and then was it called τειλογία: sometimes foure, and then they stiled it τετραλογία. [a] Τὰ δὲ πλείω δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Oresteia*; to wit Ἀγαμέμνων Χοηφόροι Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides Medea Pelidicies. Diras*. The fourth was Θερισταί, saies the Author of the Argument to *Medea*. Where the Interpreter seemes to mee not to reach to the expression of the Greeke word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι: *Messores, Satyros*; hee ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by [b] *Casaubon*. That the greatest taske of action lay on the *Chorus*, is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twentie foure, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but στοῖχοι foure, each στοῖχος six men) in Tragœdies fiftie, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, [c] that the children and younger sort fainted, & the women suffered abortion, for which reason, saies *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into στοῖχοι, and ζυγὰ. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πάσιν, by file. Στοῖχοι, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time: and this they terme κατὰ στοῖχον. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say κατ' ἴνα. Of Interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had aboue three: but if a fourth spake, that they named ὑποκριτὴν: and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled παράκλιτον. To speake of the severall verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*;

[a] De Satyrica Poesi p. 131.

[a] Laertius loco citato.

[b] Lib. laudat.

[c] Author vitæ Æschyli.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ & ἀντιστροφαὶ. Στροφὴ ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the univerſe τοῦ παντὸς, from the Eaſt to the Weſt; becauſe *Homer* cals the Eaſt the right hand, the Weſt the left: contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, & the North they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the Weſt to the Eaſt, that is frō the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I beleeve) to expreſſe the immobilitie of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmall diſcomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of the *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by [e] *Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, & *Euripides* had ſtatues erected in braſſe for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as [f] *Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude--

He ſaies, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old & New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdie, of which *Sufarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſe, ſaies *Donat.* Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport, profit, I meane for inſtruction. For under the *Democracie* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.
e Plut. in vit.
x Reſp. Panſ. Atticis p. 18.
f De arte Poetica.
* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captaines & corrupt Iudges, Citizens given to briberie, and ſuch as lead a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intended to deride. But as the State grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe, againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*.

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

---Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorusq;
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates and people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtory not truely written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous: ſometimes ſcoffing on the ſtage at meane men, and this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſſe they would themſelves ſaies [c] *Xenophon*: knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιοι, βυρσοδέψαι, λυχνόπωλοι. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the ſtage untill thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twentie eight, in which doubtleſſe himſelfe came on the ſtage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus*. *In ſcenam verò prodire; & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies, and paſtimes was in the market place, [e] where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in ancient time they

[b] Donat. *Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt*, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas. p. 2.

[e] Meurſ. Attic Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

they had no Theater of stone, onely of wood, which they call ἰκρία. f Aristophan.

f Thesmoph. p. 787.

--Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Τυβλάττω' ἡμᾶς--

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of money admitted any to a seat, named therefore g Θεατάς. Once it seemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawls, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli* (in the Consulship of *Diophantus*, a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverbe, h δραχμὴ χαλῶσα; because at the establishing of it, there fell haile) This money they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: because with it they did θέαν ἀγοράζειν, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poore people had not to give, and so were deprived of the spectacle, *Pericles* desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man.

g Casaub in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authoritie of the *Lexiarchicall Roles*, as appeares out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warre and publike necessitie, these summes might be imployed in military affayres, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demosthenes* deiist, willing, yet not daring to perswade to convert the mony to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them! l For they spent as much as these sports as in obtaining the Mastery and libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miserable: for they became effœminate, and so put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoake. m *Justin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem æmulari conjueverant, in segnitiem torporemq; resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitusq; sed in dies festos, apparatusq; ludorum, redditus pub-*

i Cont Leocha. p. 617, n. 50 51.

k Olynth 1. p 7.

l Lacon apud Plut. Mor. p. 221.

m Lib 6. fine.

licos

licos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetis, theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quam castra visentes. Verificatores Oratores, meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea nobiles & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will say little, as also of the stage: Onely that the places in the Theater were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction betweene the Senators and younger sort. The Senatours was named [a] Συγκλητικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the first place, as [o] *Pollux*. The seats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικὸν. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar. That upon all their stages there was an Altar sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*: he saies it stood on one side of the stage, before the doores, *Pollux*: who names it Αλτίνε. There was moreover a Table called τριπόδες, on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks Θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς, because that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick*, onely for institution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[a] Aristop. P. 578.
[o] Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.
[p] De Musica p. 241.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. *De Jurisdictionibus.* Περὶ δικῶν. *De Judiciis Legibus.*

[a] Lib. 2. p. 27.

AS [a] *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government, passing by the perpetual and decennal Consuls, and naming only the yearely: so hath he erred in the originall of their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seemes otherwise. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himselfe the government of warre and custodie of Lawes. Δημοκρατίαν (συστήσαντα) αὐτῷ μόνον ἐγχειρίσαντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακι καταστήσαντα. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters and writing, it was a custome among the anciēts to sing their Laws, least they might forget them, used in the daies of [d] *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi* a people neere to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rule

[b] Arist Plut. pag. 67.
[c] In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.
[d] Problem 19. sect. 27. fol. 189. b.

rules of Muſick, for the true keeping of time, ſinging, & plaiing, are ſuppoſed to bee called Νόμοι. Neither may it bee thought otherwiſe, becauſe all the notes of the [e] *Lydian, Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick*, &c. ſongs were diſtinguiſhed by the Alphabet. Yet [f] *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from thoſe bounds, which the Muſitians of old preſcribed, for the tuning of voices or inſtruments, leaſt they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it εἰκόνα τόνου. [g] *Item.* Νόμοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ὡρισμένοι τοῖς ἁρμονικοῖς τόνοις καὶ διαστήμασι τρόποι τινὲς μελῳδίας. The *Grecians*, ſaies [h] *Cicero*, thinke the cauſe of this word, *jus tuum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which ſignifies to diſtribute, becauſe the Law gives every man his due. Thus ſee we, that there were Lawes of yore; let [i] *Juſtin* ſay, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*; That the Citie was without Law, becauſe the wills of Kings were Lawes. In ſucceeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three [k] hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts ſaies [l] *Ælian*, were called Θεσμοί. Ἐκάλουν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμούς. Now θεσμὸς, by [m] *Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παρακελεύσεως καὶ κολάσεως πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet [n] *Ariſtotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great ſeverity. Which gave occaſion to [a] *Herodicus* to ſay, that they were not the Lawes of man ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double ſenſe of the word, which is alſo put for a Dragon. And [b] *Demades*, that they were not written with black, but blood. For he puniſhed every Peccadillo almoſt with death, thoſe that were convicted of idleneſſe, or ſtealing of pothearbs, alike the ſacrilegious and man-ſlayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except thoſe which concerned murther, intituled ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him ſucceeded * *Solon*, a man ſo well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

[e] Vide Alypium in Iſagoge muſica.

[f] In libro de Muſica.

[g] Loco citato pag 437.

[h] De leg lib. 1 fol. 16. b.

[i] Loco laudat.

[k] Clem. Alex. p 226.

[l] Variæ hiſt. l.8.c.10.

[m] Arg. orat. con Lept.

[n] Polit. 2 c.10

[a] Anat. Rhet. l. 2 c.44.

[b] Plut. in Solone p 64.l.2

* Demoſth. p 70.

* *His Lawes continued 100 yeares, ſaies* Plutarch. *in* Solone: p. 66: *& afterward by little and little decayed.* Ælian: Variæ hiſt. l. 2. c. 22. *If any ſpake againſt them he had corporall puniſhment.*

both, having ſtill a care, leaſt while he ſhould ſide with one, he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſſe, [c] *Juvenal* ſtiles *Juſtum*, and for the care of the Republique, which [d] *Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, [e] *Ariſtophanes* tearmes, φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. [f] *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*: And [g] *Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterward into *Ægypt*. But it ſeemes by [h] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgement of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, leges juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* [i] *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the Countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among them, that payment ſhould be made onely with the goods of the debtor, & that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country ſhould for uſurie be committed to priſon, or the coūtry be in jeopardy for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as [k] *Laertius* & [l] *Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to ſatisfy the craving loaner, were cōpelled to ſerve. Hee therefore cut off all *uſe*, [a] as ſome write, or elſe [b] leſſenned the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his law Σεισάχθεια, ſo called from Σείειν, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelfe firſt, [c] as *Laertius*, ſeaven talents; or, as [d] *Plutarch* five. But this ſeemes to have beene done for the avoiding of the aſperſiō caſt upon him as acceſſarie to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

[c] Sat. 10 verſ. 274.
[d] Κατὰ Ἀνδρ. p. 390.
[e] Pag. 190.
[f] In Timæo.
[g] In Solone p. 66. l. 31.
[h] Lib. 22.
[i] Bibliotheca.
[k] Initio vitæ Solonis.
[l] In Solone. p. 62. l. 8.
[a] Plutarch. p. 62.
[b] Androcio.
[c] Loco laud.
[d] Pag. 62. *fifteene ſaies* Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making restitution. *e Casaubon* conceited that this was not his first exploit, but long after he had sate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it seemes probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common people. Which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did willingly invent; & they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festivall named *f* Σεισάχθεια. Here likewise you may observe the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their owne vices putting gilded names on those things, which themselves were ashamed of, calling *g* πόρνας, ἑταίρας; φόρους, εἰσφορὰς; φυλακὰς, φρουρὰς τῆς πόλεως; ἀσυμπόριον, δίκαιον &c. as our blades name drunkennesse, good fellowship; whores, the sinners; and niggardise, thriftinesse; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν Σεισάχθειαν. *h* To these Lawes two ends were proposed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the state. *i* To curb wickednesse, and injustice; & to punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civill Law. Each City, as *k Justinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of wood called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may beleeve the *m* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* & *Apollodorus*, witnessing that they were called κύρβεις also ἀπὸ τῆς περιφορᾶς ἰσόπλευρος ἀπέστεγμένον, frō the elevation. *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* sayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set up, *o* which from their standing were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praise and dispraise too, were written in stone. Whence *b* λοιδορία στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatise tending

e In Laert. p. 14.

f Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.

g Plutarch. loco laudato.

h Dem. p. 477.

i Idem p. 484.

k Institut. l. 2. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.

l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Argo. 4.

m In Avibus pag. 604.

n Vide Plut. p. 66.

o ἀπὸ στάσεως.

b Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλα.

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of *c Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seene. The *Autographon* or coppy written with his owne hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. * For the distinction of which, some think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the table; but to mee it seemes improbable, for then the number of the table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not containe a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the guesse of *Petitus*, who supposes the Oratour to mean the Law which afterward he quotes; not ignorant of the opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βουστροφηδὸν, *converso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies *e Silburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explaines, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, from the right hand to the left, *g* more significantly, Ἀπὸ τῆς πίσσης τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστρέφοντο τῶν ἐπῶν ἡ διάτρησις, ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλῳ δρόμου. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak neerest to the word, as husbandmen turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example:

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ See those that have written of divers
ΨΟΞΕΝΟΥΣ wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtlesse there were some customes as strong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, & the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ἔθος. Ἀρχαῖα νόμῳ κρατύνῃρα. * *Scholiastes.* νόμον νῦν ἢ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένον φησὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the * *Greekes* divide

c In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux lib. 8. pag. 408.

d Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

e In Pausaniam. p. 426.
f In Eliacis p. 274.
g Eorem lib. pag. 165.

h Contra Appionem. Vide Justinianum. Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.
i In Avibus pag. 576.
* Pag. 577.
h Vide Justinianum.

divide their Lawes into ἐγγράφους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, ule. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. Νόμος διττὸν ἔγγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written custome, and a custome an unwritten Law. Besides these there were decrees which they termed ψηφίσματα, *Psephismata*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων ἰσχὺν διαφέρειν τῶν νόμων. *e Demosthenes*, who meanes in vertue and power. For they differ much. A Law maintaines justice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* followes the necessitie of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occasion of armes, & as Lawes can be abrogated, so degrees chanced. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a Law. Of decrees there were two sorts; *h* ἡ μὲν βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, such as the Senate by it selfe established, which were but of twelve months continuance, to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their consent required, termed ἐαυτοῦ βουλεύματα, which *Demosthenes* proves to be ἐπίτηδες. *Ulpian.* ἐκ ἐαυτοῦ. Like to the edict of the Romon *Prators* which lasted but a yeare. *k Cicero. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. *l* τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ δήμου προβούλωμα, καὶ πλείονα μᾶλλον χρόνον. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ onely, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma*. Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου κύριον καὶ κράτιστον. The Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law commanding that no decree should goe forth without deliberation. *m* ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Which done, the *Prytaneis* tooke certain Tables and wrote on them

c In Ajacem Locarium.

d In Orat. pro Flacco.

e Cont. Lept. p. 296.

f Aristides. Tom. 2. p. 30.

g Demosthen. pag. 416.

h Demosthen. κατ' Ἀριστοκρ. p. 417.

i Ulp. in Dem. p. 418.

k In Verr. 1.

l Ulpian. loco laudato.

m Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 181. n. 10. vi. Plut. Solone. p. 63. l. 31.

Such or such a day about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affaires: and this they called a [illegible] When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; it not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every yeare there should be [illegible], which *b Ulpian* expounds [illegible]. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. *c* The manner was this. Every eleventh day of July in the assembly after the Crier had made his prayers, as his fashion was, and shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, and thirdly the *9. Archons*, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weale, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned untill the last of the three daies of the three Cõvocations; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chiefe of the Assembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, chosen out of the Councell of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever should bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, *e* [illegible], *Demosthenes*, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statutes of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *f* [illegible] which

a Sch. in Nazsnλ. *a*, pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

b Demosth. p. 445.

c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d [illegible] Demosthen. Ulp. *expounds* [illegible], *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

f Demosth. p. 297.

which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certaine dayes before the Seſſions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſall of the Law declare his mind either for, or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our High Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges* or *Knight* of a ſhire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill or ſome part thereof, or in oppoſition to it, or ſome one clauſe. Provided likewiſe, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, ſhould take care for the diſanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwiſe hee came within the compaſſe of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a writ of *Tranſgreſſion of the Laws*: which was of two ſorts. Firſt, when time is not obſerved in writing them, *a* ἄνευ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ χρόνου. Next when one is made that is adverſe to a former. And if it ſo hapned, that any perſwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publike, he might be queſtioned within *b* a yeares ſpace; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay, they ſlew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; ſcarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom, he that would propoſe a Law, ſhould do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requeſt pleaſed not, he ſtraight way powred out his ſoule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called *e* δημαγωγοὶ, becauſe they lead the people with their Rhetoricke and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of *f* *Demoſthenes*; and therefore are they deciphered by *g* *Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες.

a Uſp. in Dem. p. 397.
b Dem. Orat. Arg. cont. Leptinem.
c Dem. p. 419.
d Idem p. 468.
e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Iſ. Caliſtratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellant.
Livie Dec. 4. of Athens, ubi Oratio plurimum poller, favore multitudinis alitur.
Ulpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
f Pag. 468. n. 225.
g Dipnoſ. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, &c.

THe Aſſemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foure times in five and thirty daies. *f* In the firſt they confir-

f Pollux l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. p. 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publique causes, looked into confiscate goods, & possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speake of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth they treated of holy things, such as belong to their gods & worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the second the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference betweene the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the dayes on which they came together, one making the first day of the moneth to be the day on which the first assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every month there were three lawfull assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called Κυρίαι ἐκκλησίαι, because in them they did κυροῦν ψηφίσματα, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *b* σύγκλητοι, when warre, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above those foure times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled σύγκλητοι, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the Citie and called them. There is likewise *c* κατακλησία, when they were summoned out of the fields to goe to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawfull assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d* *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the woman speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryer — δὶς τὸν κεκόκκυκεν, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Achar. p. 371.
b In Dem. p. 445.
a In Achar.
b Ulp. & Sch. Arist. loc. laud.
c Poll. p. 405.
d In concionantib. p. 725.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in comming to assemblies, that the *Legista* were fane to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristoph:* on these words, *e* Τὸς δ' ἱμαντας ὁι Λεγοντες, Sometimes they tooke a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one of the one side of the way, & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, & to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain peece of money. Hence in the *f* Comœdian— Κἄνα ϗ κἀπω Τὸ χαινον φὐγουσι τὸ μιλτοπυρρον. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And againe— ἡ μίλτος ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε γέλων παρέχει ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦτον κίνδυνον *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led the *Ecclesia*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *b* Διοσημεία: *i* and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting untill the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man sacrificed; which rites were called *a* Εἰσιτήρια, because they were done at the entry of the Councell. *b Ulpian*, προτερεῖται δὲ εἰσιόντος τῆς βουλῆς, ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας πυνθάνομαι. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate; and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c Aristophanes* witnesseth that immediately preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named Θεσιάρχην, from θέσις, τὸ καθαίρειν, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congresse of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* & curst those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he spake with a lowd voyce

e In Achar. p. 406.

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 371.

g Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

b Vide Arist. p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386. l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

a Demosth. παραπρ. 241.

b Vide & Ulp. p. 351.

c In Concion. p. 728. A.

d Demosth. Ἀνδρ. 213.

e Id. p. 418.

voice, *f* Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; who will make a speech; whereupon one of the [1] Elders arose that gave his verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had spent his judgement. Whence by *h Demosthenes* they are stiled οἱ πάνδοκοι, those that were wont to orate. After they had finished their sayings, others had leave to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they had to exclude all private men from their assemblies sometimes, when the Senate alone sate, or the *Areopageticall* Councell; sometimes to debarre all servants, strangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, & then was it called ἀκκλησίαν μίαν βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theater to all commers. The place of meeting was called Πνύξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆ πυκνοῦσθαι αὐθρώπους ἐν αὐτῇ, from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called πέτρα. 345. Sch. ὀρεινὴ χαρίεν. There was a stipend for them that came to Assemblies, as you may see in *Demosth: contra Timoc.* And ὡς βοσκήσων ἀεὶ ὀνόματος. Because they might be at leasure without dammage. *Aristot. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They assembld also in *Piraeus. Vlp. in Dem.*

f Alcidamus Aristoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

g Demosth. p. 29. Æschines contra Ctesiphontem.

h Philippic. 2.

[1] Plut. p. 552. L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πενταχοσίων.

WHen the mutiny betweene the faction of *Megacles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Common-wealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars they named ἐναγεῖς should undergoe judgement, there were chosen *k* three hundred men, ἀριστίνδην, according to their worth, to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetuall judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the usury

k Plut. Solone, p. 60. l. 31.

usury money, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly, without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, *m* *Aristotle* saies are more properly called βουλαὶ, but where the Root rules, Βουλή. But when *Clisthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ἐκατονταπλάσιος τῆς πολιτείας, had augmented the number of the Tribes from foure to tenne, eighty six yeares after *Solon's* Lawes were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times make up the summe. This Councell by *Aristotle* is described ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων, *The Mistresse of all the rest*: and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ in *a* *Plutarch*, is to be understood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was chosen under thirty yeares of age, which time is stiled βελτίστη μίγνυσθαι ἡλικία by *e* *Libanius*. And doubtlesse *d* *Plutarch* justifies it speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Orations against *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, ὅπως τῆς πολιτείας ἐφικνοῖτο, when he had not attained to the managing of state businesse, because he wanted two or three of thirty yeares. Agreeing to this is *e* *Junius*, who saies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wise to Magistracy or Councell. Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tels us that green heads were not permitted to speake publikely. The law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

Κἄγω παρῆα τοῦτ' ἰὼν, κἀξέλω πῶ μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Πεντακόσιοι, and their Tribunall Ἡλιαία, from the word *g* ἁλίζειν,

m Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

a in Solon. p. 63.

b Possardus. *false, for* Pausanias *calls it* μίγνυσθαι in Attic. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Arg. orat. con. Androt.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus serm. 112.

f In Nub. p. 157.

g Vlpian in Dem. p. 445.

which signifies to throng together because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *h* ἐκ τῆ ὑπαίθρον εἶναι καὶ πάντη ἡλίου ἐκεῖ ἐνδιατρίβειν, because the place was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this *i* Aristophanes makes that cold conceit branded by Didymus, Εἶτ' ἦρ' ὄψρον, ἡλιάσεις ἀφ' ἡλίου, *In the morning thou shalt* ἡλιάζειν in the sun-shine. At their admission they had this oath given them. *k* ψηφίσω καὶ γνώμας, &c. *I will give sentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchie: Neither shall my approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracie of Athens by speech or decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian lands or houses, I will not bring back exiled men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, & Senate of five hundred: neither by my selfe or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and assistants. Neither shall the same man beare the same office twice, or two in one yeare. I will not take gifts for judgement, neither my selfe or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will heare both parties, the accuser & defendant alike. I will passe judgement aright in the thing prosecuted. I sweare by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another oath which they tooke; some clauses whereof, we have left in record. *To ratifie the Lawes of Solon. Plutarch in Solone.* p. 62. *To give councel for the best of the people. To advise according to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who shall give three sureties of the same revennes, unlesse for treason, or hee conspire the subversion of state popular, or buy custome, or be engaged, or gather publike money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to. I will not permit any unlesse banished*

b Ulp. loc. laudato. vide & Aristoph. Sc. p. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* *If I transgresse any of these, let me and my house perish, but if I faithfully keepe them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous.* Dem. p. 470.

nished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *a Thrasybulus* gave them to oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of war, tributes, making of Lawes, civill businesses and events, affaires of confederates, collections of mony, performance of sacred rites, accounts of offices discharged, appointing keepers for prisoners, & ἀπογραφὰς of Orphanes, as *b Xenophon*. *c* Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right & possessions of private men changed, formes of religion established, Subsidies, Tailes, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, waights and measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*, *d Tutta la cura del governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common-wealths government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified & inviolable. By their authority & rule is peace confirmed & war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewise laid out againe and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may say of these five hundred, as *a Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*; *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumq; omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly & equally decided all sorts of controversies whatsoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the people. To this alludes *c Aristophanes*. Πολλαπὸ τὸ ῥήτορος; Ἐν ὅσῳ αἱ τριήρεις κλαύσι. Εἶτ' Μὰν Ἡλιαστάς;—— *d* Without their consent could the people do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *sanctum* against the peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, ἢ βουλὴ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισται τῷ δήμῳ κυρίαν. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι ἡμέρας, and *g* οἱ ἀεὶ κύριοι. The Lords of sentence. In

a Vide Zeno. in Ἕλλ. Cicero. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Arist. Sch. in πλ. Æschin. contr. Ctesiph.

b Athen. Rep. pag. 407.

c See Sir Tho. Smith in the Commonwealth of England.

d As Branchirio Andronio hath translated it. lib. 3. fol. 34. B

a In Pandect. Prato. p. 298.

b Dem. 385.

c Aristoph. p. 546.

d Sch. Arist. p. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demosthen. ἀεὶ Ἀλο.

g Idem κατὰ Μειδίου.

time of warre they would send Commissions to their Captaines, as they thought requisite. *b* Such as in the battaile betweene the *Lacedemonians* and their countrimen in *Tanagra*, where fearing least *Cimon* banished by *Ostracisme* should betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not during terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apostolius*, ἢ μὴν τοὺ πυτανεύοντα κατ' ἔτος ἑαυτῶν κληροῦσθαι βουλευτήν. Which *Anonymus in Arg: Orat: contr Androt.* expresses by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεδέχετο. The manner of choosing them is this. *i* The chiefe of every tribe, on an apppointed day before the beginning of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and cast them written into a vessell, & into another they put an hundred white beanes, and all the rest blacke; Then drawing out a name and then a beane, to whose chance the white beane fell to be extracted with his name, was designed Senator. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and so foure hundred Senatours. But when they had ten Tribes, there could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election observed by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of December, when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of citizens, nor passed twentie five yeares old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, & there the same set before the Councellors, with which there is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written in the first, every one having his marks, the fift part of these bals is guilded with gold, the rest with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball, which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name is drawne, is presently admitted to publique authority, they to whom the silver chance, loose it for that time, expecting it the ensuing yeare, unlesse in the mean space they accomplish twentie five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of

b Plut. in Cimone p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emmius in Descrip. Resp. Athen.

k Contaren. l. 1, fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yonkers is chosen to give voyce with the other Citizens. The use in choosing I deem the same, & shall untill I find authentike writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to their Tribes, so by his successours. For when they added two, the number was encreased 100, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias*, after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were benefactors to the State; *a* ὅθεν καὶ βουλὴν πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐπίστευν. *b* Out of these were their Judges chosen; but such as were above threescore yeares old. For although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. εἰσῆρχον τε μὴ εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησίας. οὐκ ἐδίκαζον δέ. To these was any businesse referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine. *c Aristoph.* Επὶ δ' ἀβουλίᾳ καὶ ὦ δῆμε ὅταν κεῖναι μέγα πρᾶγμα, διαρρήδην ἐκφέρουσι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοῖσι δικασταῖς ἐξαγαγεῖν. When the Councell and people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, They decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in sentence, saies *d Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving sentence before the third yeare of the ninety second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their own Tribes every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, and to which one of them the chance happened, and sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of election was like that of the *e Syracusans* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated and casting them into a pot, created him, whose name should first be drawne: of that sacred function. But of our own must I speake. *f* When then they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with him a table and a wand on which was written a letter that did betoken some Judicatory, (For there being ten Tribunals

a Stephanus περὶ πολ.

b Arist. Schol. p. 37.

c In Vespis. p. 471.

d Pal. l. 3. c. 13. περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν.

e Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Aristophan. πλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, E &c. to K. over the doore) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A. was taken out, sate in the Court noted with A. and B. with B and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand & Table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit and pervert justice. I know not whether I may better call that rod of authority a Wand or staffe: because that *g* Ραντικὰ ᾠδεῖον ἢ τριβώλου, was a proverb used in derision of the judges *h* This staffe at the dates end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the *a Scholiast* teaches us other waies, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator, Ω γέροντες Ἡλιασταί, τριώβολα τριβώλου, Οὓς ἐγὼ βόσω.— *Iudges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same, ἀλλ' ἴσαν, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes* was author of. Hence the proverb Ὀβολὸν δέρας Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word τὰ Καλλικράτους it may be for a pretty summe of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of Ὀβολὸς Ἡλιαστὴς one, and anon τριώβολον three, a *e Drachme* or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes lesse. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their causes of Law, in which I shall adde.

g Suidas proverb.
h Sch. Aristoph. πλ. 30.
a In Equites, pag. 301.
b In nubes pag. 274.
c Appendix Vaticana.
d Zenobius.
e Sch. Aristoph. pag. 487.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custome to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Iudicatory. And this they did by a Table in which was written, *f* Καταγράφω τοῦδε τῇ προσαδικίαν τοῦτον διὰ τοῦδε δίκην εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceedings, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation; to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestrâ, ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiffe, whether he had witnesses

f Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.
g Asinaria Act. 1. p. 154.

witneſſes and would proſequute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance, and this he did either by himſelfe or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, *b* for κλῆσις is ἡ εἰς ἢ δίκης εἴσαγωγὴ, a bringing into ſuit: καλεῖν γὰρ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſſe alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunall, they had any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. *i* Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἑστῶτας· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ λέξις καὶ ἡ μάρτυρες. You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiffe or the like. Sometimes they would runne ſtraight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k* *Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *l* *Ariſtophanes*. Κἄθ' ἕλκων αὐτόν— But if the partie could put in two ἀξιόχρεως, ſufficient bayle, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι κατασήσω δύο Ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able ſureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a weeke or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Iudgement ſeat, he came within compaſſe of Ἔρημα *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſall to come in and anſwer. Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ὄντα in tenne daies after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indifâ cauſâ*, ſo *a* *Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμου καταδικασθῆναι, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ὄντα, *b* ὅτι πρότερον δοκοῦντα δὲ ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ μὲν τέλος οὐδεμίαν, *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſſe then made a new, the party that was caſt by an ἔρημα, after that he had obtained a μὴ ὄντα, was within two Moneths to ſet the Law on foot, which they terme ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκῃ, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was liable

h Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

k ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βαδίζειν p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis pag. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio. p. 755.

a In Prioris & Poſt. No. ad Pand.

b Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

c Pollux, l. 8. p. 390.

liable to ψευδεγγραφῆς δίκη, a writ of moleſtation for a falſe cauſe. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the ſumme of the defendants anſwer. This the *Greeks* call *d* Αντιγραφὴ, *Antigraphen*. Though I know alſo that all caſes in law were termed *e* ἐγκλήματα, κρίνεσθαι. They tooke this courſe becauſe the Defendant might know what to anſwer. And becauſe it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuſe out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whoſoever accuſed & had not the fift part of the voices, ſhould be fined a thouſand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was alſo puniſhed in the purſe a certaine ſumme; *g* which if he paid not at the conſtituted time was foure fold; & if his ability reached not ſo far, he ſuffered impriſonment. At the preſenting of the *Antigraphe*, teſtimonies were alſo delivered, (formes of which you ſhall often meet with in *h Demoſthenes*) & a copy of an oath, which the Suiter gave, in theſe words *i* Ταληθῆ καταγνώσεσθαι, that he would juſtly accuſe. Ταληθῆ ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίαν. Theſe writings were caſt into a certain coffer, forth comming as occaſion ſhould require; all which *l* *Ariſtophanes* in one verſe comprehends. Αντωμοσίας τε προσκλήσεις τε μαρτυρίας συγκόλλων. They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts mind, who will have προσκλήσεις to be exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that *m* προσκαλεῖσθαι is κατηγορεῖν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκειν, to accuſe, *in jus rapere*, *n* and προσκλήσεις, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀπαγωγάς. The cheſt or coffer was called ἰκρίνος, and of this are the words of the Greeke Oratours to be underſtood ὁ εἰς ἰκρίνον βάλλων. *p* Theophraſtus of a mad man that would intangle himſelfe in any thing, ἰκρίνον ἐν τῇ προσκλήσει, ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῷ χειρί. Having an *Echinus* in his lap, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different expoſition of this oath from that

d You have a forme of this in Demoſt. p. 828.
e Ariſt. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.
f Demoſt. pag. 716. n. 7.
g Ariſt. Schol. p. 170.
h Unum contra Stephan. ψευδ. α΄ p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629.
i Schol. Ariſt. Veſp. 505.
k In Veſp. p. 467. 505.
l In Veſp. p. 504.
m Schol. Ariſt. 239.
n Idem p. 195.
o Demoſthen. 622. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.
p Charact. περὶ ἀπονοί. p. 21.

that which other Grammarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the ὀμοσία and ἀντωμοσία with διωμοσία. For ὀμοσία is that first oath which the Plaintif gave to prosequute, the party prosequited to answere, which on the defendants side was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both. Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did [a] πρόξασθαι δίκην, follow the delinquent in Law: the defendant ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπωμόσιον, to stand stiffly to it that he did not trespasse. And yet [b] *Vlpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another admitted to the judicatory, it being first demanded of the Suiter [c] whether he would prosequi, follow the suit, and had sufficient witnesses for evidence; in causes capitall it was asked if there were need of any, who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed [d] Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient the judgemẽt was prorogued by an [e] ἀντωμοσία, or an oath, which the Plaintif took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. [f] Perhaps for that time pretending sickneſſe, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunall, the Judges first swearing [g] that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were no Lawes, according to conscience and equity (which the Greeks call γνώμῃ δικαστικῇ) [h] and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. [i] *Plutarch.* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέρειν. The oath is called ἡμεσιακὴ. Then went the Judges to their seats [k] neatly spred with matts, in Greeke ψιάδες and ψιάδοι and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the Bars, in this form [l] μεταστῆτε ἔξω, they sate down. For we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romans, with lettice I suppose, by them

[a] Schol Arist. Vesp. 505.
[b] In Demost. p 287.
[c] Vide Vlpian in Dem. pp 347. 341.
[d] Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
[e] Vlpian in Demp. p 226 *the Schol. of* Aristoph. *Makes it the same with* ἀντωμοσία. ωλ. p. 75.
[f] Vlpian in Demost 341.
[g] Pollux l. 8. pag. 406.
[h] Dem. pag. 628.
[i] Pag. 132.
[k] Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.
[l] Demost.

called [m] κεγγελωται *Cancellatæ*, by the Greekes κιγκλίδες, though [n] κιγκλὶ, more properly signify the doore of the διαζωμάτιον, before which was [o] a rope of fifty feet length drawn, and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who had busines. The partition I think was but weak, & therefore by *Demosthenes* called [p] ἀσθενὴς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when [a] *Demosthenes* did long to hear *Callistratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him, where he might have the happinesse to be an auditor. The *Pædagogue* therefore acquainted with the publique officers that opened the doores, τὸν ἀνοίγοντα τὰ δικαστήρια δωσείν, procured him a place where he might heare and not be seen, ἵν' ἥδιστ' ἀκούσειε καὶ ἀόρατος ἀκούσοι. When then the Judges had gone within the bars, least any should be wanting the *Præco* cried [b] Εἴ τις δύσεται Ηλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the doore of the place of judgement, let him enter. [c] Because if any came after the cause began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated the Crier read the Inditement, ἔγκλημα a copy of some part of which you have in [d] *Demosthenes*. ΕΒΑΛΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ &c.) in which according to the custome of the [e] old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received & the manner of it, with an estimation of the dammage; The severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, least the Impleader and Defendant should swerve from what they had in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a Pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunall, & spak an accusatory oration, made for the most part by some of the *Attick* Oratours: which use brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, [f] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls διαγνὰς λόγους εἰς ἑκάστην γεγραμμένους [g] *Cicero* scribere aliis causas, quibus in judiciis uterentur, such as *Lysias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which least it should exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a vessell,

in

[m] Poll. lib. 8. p. 407.
[n] Pollux loco citato.
[o] Τὸ ἡ σχοίνισμα. Pollux.
[p] Pag. 485.
[a] Plutarch. in Vita.
[b] Aristoph. p. 494
[c] Aristoph. Sch. Ibid.
[d] Περὶ Παραπρεσβ. p. 567.
[e] Boemus De. Custum. delle Genti lib. 1. cap 5.
* Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.
[f] Stromat. 1. pag. 226.
[g] In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to run, as ſand doth in our houre-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδρα, into which was poured an equall meaſure of water; and leaſt there ſhould be deceit, there was an officer made for that purpoſe, named [b] ὑδροσκόπος, ὁ ἐπιστατῶν τῷ ἴσον εἶναι τὸ κλεψύδρας, filling alike for the Impleader and anſwerer. [i] When therefore the glaſſe was runne, it was not lawfull for them to ſpeak farther, [k] nay for ſcantineſſe of time they were compelled to paſſe by many things, and for that reaſon were they chary of their water, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπέλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ῥίνα ἐπιλαμβάνῃ is to ſtop the noſe in [l] *Ariſtophanes*. [m] *Apuleius*. *At tu interea dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Panzirollus*. *Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi præbita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent. If any would give way to another to ſpeak while his glaſſe was runing, he might; which *Demoſt.* teſtifies: ἐν τῷ ἐμοὶ ὕδατι λαλοῦσιν. But if he would not permit it, he bad the *Præco* caſt it forth [a] ἐξέχεε τὸ ὕδωρ *Vlpian*. Τυτίστην ἐκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb [b] σοὶς τῇ κλεψύδρᾳ, [c] *Cicero*, *ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the houre or an allotted time. His ſpeech being ended, he ſate down. [d] The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, untill he had finiſhed. after addreſſed himſelfe to his anſwer, which he made from the right hand of the Judicatorie; where he had a pulpit, & ſtation. For this reaſon ſaies [e] *Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper hand to the defendant. Or becauſe οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therefore the guard ſtood on the right hand, the defendant ſtood there alſo. Thence then he pleaded for himſelfe; in which plea, he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, [f] μόνον κατηγορημάτων λύειν πρῶτον, And in that had the plaintif a prerogative. For he might

[b] Pollux l. 8. p. 404.
[i] Vlpian in Dem. p. 356.
[k] Demoſth. περὶ Βοιωτ. p. 586.
[l] In Plut.
[m] Apologia.
[a] Demoſth.
[b] Ariſtoph. pag. 619.
[c] Tuſc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
[d] Vlpian in Dem. 220.
[e] Problem. διὰ τί ἀρχὴ πρῶτον ἡ ἀπολογία.
[f] Vlpian in Demoſth. p. 252.

g Loco laudato.

h Demoſt. 219.

i Clemens Alex. *Theſe had certain pettifoggers under them, that adminiſtred the Lawes and formes of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti miniſtros ſe præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos σκαφιδικοὶ vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide ad Atticum l. 1 c. 13

l Vide Laertium in vita eius.

object what he would, nay and as g *Ariſtotle*, forecaſt all before he commenced his ſuit, and feigne to himſelfe what he pleaſed. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that inſtant to clear himſelfe, h either by witneſſe, or probabilities, of all doubts, whatſoever the plaintif could caſt in. Sometimes the Plaintif and Defendant would deſire Advocates of the Judges, Συνηγόρους hence i δεῖ μοὶ τῶ συνηγορεῖν, to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witneſſes were called, who came in, and gave their teſtimonies, and after they had uttered what they had to ſay, they went to the Altar (as it ſeems to mee, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and ſwore. k *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos ſanctè graviterq; vixiſſet, & teſtimonium dixiſſet publicè, &, ut mos Græcorum eſt, jurandi cauſa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamaſſe.* They report that in Athens when a certain man (l Xenocrates) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witneſſe, and as the faſhion of the Greekes is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voyce cryed that he ſhould not. (They would not, it ſeems, have beliefe rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the anſwer of *Pericles* to a friend of his deſiring him μαρτυρῆσαι ψεύδη to teſtify a lye, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar; that is, as farre as conſcience, religion and honeſty ſhall permit; hence ἄχρι σοῦ φίλος τῶ βωμῶ *ad aras* grew, I ſuppoſe to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth. f.* 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot juſtly ſay: in delivering their teſtimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reaſon to me unknown) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*: (But I rather may ſuppoſe it to be a Roman faſhion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witneſſe by the eare, for remembrance ſake. *Horace lib.* 1. *Sat.* 9. *Licet atteſtari? ego vero oppono auriculam* -- To which *Virgill* looked, ſaying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit. Ecl.* 6.) and at the end thereof

thereof wish all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsely. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ ψευδομαρτυριῶν, of false witnesse, and he that suborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witnesse was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers terme ἀκοὴ as [m] ἀκοὴ πολλαπλάσιον, when they take from those that are dead, which went for currant, and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the Mouth of one that was alive, and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι or servants, or any man in his own cause. [a] The manner of witnesse was two-fold, either by personall appearance & testifying αὐτοπροσωπεῖ, and then he was called μάρτυς in no case lyable to the Law, ἀνώδικος: or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attachments in Law, against whom he witnessed if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία Both parties being heard and the altercation ceased, the *Preco* cried, *To whom L. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpret ἀδικεῖν, *jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greekes gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called [b] χοιάνας (which the French semblably terme *Porcellaines*, χοῖρος porcus) [c] *Ovid.*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisq; Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemne the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to goe home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he never was like to escape; when one asked [d] ὦ πολίτη πατρίδι πῶς οὐ πείθῃ; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? Οὐκ ἔστι μητρὶ, quoth he, εὐόργητος δὲ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα ἐφ' ἁμαρτάδι τὸ ἀληθές, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐκφύγοιμι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ ψῆφον. No not her, that brought

a Vlpian in Demosth. 238.

b Aristoph. 438.

c Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

m Demost. pp. 619 634.

me forth. For I feare leaſt ſhee being ignoraat, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the white ſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named, the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They uſed likewiſe black and white beanes; in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken as a riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν, not to eat beanes, by [e] *Nonius* interpreted μὴ παρεδόντας τὸ δίκαιον ἀργυρικοῖς χρήμασιν, not to un-lermine uſtice with bribes; or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he meanes men ought not to be forward in getting places of iudgement. For [f] κυαμοτρώξ in *Ariſtophanes* is by the Scholiaſt expounded δικαστὴς & [g] κυάμους τρώγων is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beanes. But afterwards they had little pellets of braſſe; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, [h] πετρυπωμένοι: the ſaving were whole, ἄτρυπτοι. Of theſe every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have ſaid, [i] where laying their hands upou the ψήφους, or bals, they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to thewhite, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to paſſe ſentence [a] the *Præco* carried about the Κάδον or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo [b] *Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named κιμβὶς but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον, only with the fore-finger, middle, and thumb. [c] *Ariſtoph.* Τὸν τρίτον κιμβίχων τῇ δακτύλων. ἀτιτᾷ). But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; [d] The one which freed was made of braſſe called τρύπημα, whether becauſe they firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being wodden

e In Naz. Stellit. 15.

f Pagina 290.
g Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.

h Pollux l. 8. pag. 407. Vlpian in Dem: 470
i Vlpian in Dem: p. 162.

a Ariſtoph. 485.
b Pag. 263.

c Pag. 437. vide Scholiaſt.

d Ariſtoph. Veſpis 500.

woodden ἴστοις. After the Crier had gone round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, & for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therfore he cried [e] Τίς ἀφίστος; ἀνιστάσθω, who hath not caſt in his ball? let him riſe. ſo he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſell (for there were as many ſet as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλέπται. Which [g] *Teucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*; and therefore he calls him κλέπτην ψηφοπείων. Sch. ὅλιον κεῖται· not amiſſe ψηφοκλάπτην. [h] When the number was known, if the white or ſolid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπαν τιμᾶν μαχεῖν, may be uſed, for to condemne every body. The thing it ſelfe they termed [k] ἀλίζειν, as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (as none ever was without the ſentence of the Iudges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they terme ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch.* δίκας πάλαιστα τιμᾶσθαι εἰώθασι πρὸ δικῶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι. [n] For it was a uſe of old for thoſe that went to Law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did ſweare by three Gods Ἰλάσιον, Καθάρσιον, ξακισήσιον, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is ſet downe what leſſe of limbs or life, or means &c. For although they did [o] ἐνεχυράζεσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court yet it may be that might be leſſe or more then the fine. There was

in

[e] Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

[f] Schol. Naz. in συλ.

[g] Sophocles Ajacc. p. 68.

[h] Schol. Ariſt. 438.

[i] Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco cit.

[k] Pag. 491.

[l] Ariſtoph. p. 472.

[m] βίοις ἰωλ. p. 454.

[n] Schol. Ariſt. in συλ. pag. 50.

[o] Schol. Ariſt. 740.

in cauſes capitall an other proceeding like to that in the city of [a] *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free; If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond. But if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bid the accuſed to fine himſelfe, which [b] *Xenophon* intimates by ἀτιμητόν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſſe made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*, if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet downe by [c] *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*. *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus eſt &c.* And he too was condemned not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Lawes they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the offence were not capitall, they weighed and conſidered the penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the defendant, what he thought himſelfe to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In tryall if there be more for the priſoners liberty, thē againſt him, he is ſtreight acquitted, but if more then halfe be in the pot of cōdemnation he ſuffers. [d] *Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him, then on his ſide; and at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in [e] *Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death δι' τρεῖς μὴ φῆφους, if three had not been wanting. And againe [f] τρεῖς ἢ μόνοι φῆφοι ἀλλάγησαν τὴν ἀπὸ θανάτου τιμῶσι. Nay one was ſufficient, [g] *Demoſthenes*. Μιᾷ μόνον ἀλλᾶναι φήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτε μικρὰν ἀλλᾶναι τιμωρίαν, ſaies, that he was lightly puniſhed. [h] If the voyces were equall, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpicion; or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was ſued out of envy, and many other reaſons given by [i] *Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

[a] Contaren de Rep. Ven. lib. 3.

[b] Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

[c] De Orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

[d] Laertius in Socrat p. 115.

[e] Pag. 436.

[f] Pag. 430.

[g] Pag. 338.

[h] Ariſtoph. p. 244.

[i] Probl. Sect. 29.

leave some place for pitty and compassion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the [k] deserts of their ancestors: their own lives formerly well led. [l] Sometimes shewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haires of their parents, but [m] mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or caused them to [a] come up into the *βῆμα* or pulpit, & supplicate with teares; which wrought so much upon the Judges, that [b] *Aristophanes* in a scoff presents one *ἀποδακρύσαντα τῷ γνάμῳ* drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the judges speak to the prisoner, [c] *Καπόβα, Καπίζε*, wishing him to goe down from the *βῆμα*, a token often of mercy: though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when [d] *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. *Νεώτατος ὢν, ὦ ἄνδρες Αθηναῖοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἐλάλουν*, they thundered out, *Καλὰ ἐλάλουν τυτὶ κατάβηθι*. Neither may I forget [e] *Amynias* the brother of *Æschylus* the Tragœdian, who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand, lost in the fight at *Salamis*: by which spectacle the judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient. [g] And that they condemned innocents, & spared offendors that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole yeare, saies [h] *Xenophon*, and [i] *Aristophanes*. *Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς δίκας ἐξετάζομεν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὖθις ἀπολαβλήμδα*. Now we doe not handle suits of aboue threescore years, but we are put off untill the next day. *Τὰς γὰρ δίκας ἔτων χ ἐνδιατρίζομεν*. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of

[k] Dem. p. 492. Aristid. T. 3. p. 292.
[l] Dem. p. 493.
[m] Aristid. loco cit. *παῖδια ἀπολαβὰν βώμου*.
[a] Aristoph. pp. 469. 499.
[b] Vesp. p. 499.
[c] Sch. Ar. 500.
[d] Laert. Socr. p. 115.
[e] Ælian Var. hist. l. 5. c. 19.
[f] Athen. Rep. *ὁ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἡδὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον*. p. 404.
[g] Apol. Socr. initio.
[h] Athen. Rep. 406.
[i] *Ἐκκλησιαζ.* 752. 753. *They are translated foolishly into latine. εἰσαῦθις* what the Professors in the Civil Law usually mean by in proximum in proximum,

the accused was (as among the *Romans*, whence [k] *Rei pendu-li* exposed in a publique table to the view of all men which they terme ἐκκεῖσθαι *Demosthenes*. ἵνα ἐκκέοιτο σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν. *Vipian.* φοιτᾶν εἰς πᾶσι βλέπεσθαι. You see here the place too, viz. at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by [m] *Demosthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος. a bare report: but after proofe ἔλεγχος, ὅταν δὲς αὐ εἴπῃ τις, καὶ παλαιὸς ὁμῶς δείξει. After judgement past,[n] ἀδικήματα. An inditement of sacriledge, theft, murther, treason, is but αἰτία the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the sentence ἀδίκημα.

[k] Baldæus in Pand. No. Relig p. 31.
[l] Demost. in Mid. 347.
[m] Cont. Andro. 388.
[n] Dem. p. 406

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Arcotego. & ejus appellatione. Arcopagitæ.

ON the hill on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*, in the old translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars hill* street. Fallly. For [a] πάγος beares not that signification, but what [b] *Justin Martyr* interprets. ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος. an eminent place. Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ὢν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by [c] *Æschylus*, & [d] *Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by [e] *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and [f] *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as fond Antiquitie would have, [g] from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonne of *Neptune*. But [h] *Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of advoutery. μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκης ἐδόκουν. But alike true. It pleases mee well to consider the superstition of the ancients, that consecrated high places to their deities, & erected the statues of their Gods upon hills. As [i] *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

[a] *When* Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους.
Dion Hal. 4. *Not as if it signified a village, but as it was situated. For* Pagus villa rustica *comes from* πηγή *Because built were a well* Perot. [b] In Acta p. 136. [c] Eumenid. p. 296. [d] Electr. 836 [e] Metamorp. l. 6. fab 2. [f] Vide Scalig. in conject. [g] Demost. p. 413. Paus. p. 26 Simeon Met. & Pachymer. in tit. Dionys. Areopag. [h] Loco citato. [i] Paus. Attic. p. 31.

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymenæus*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου πάγος, *Pan* another Πανὸς πάγος, *Mercury* another Ἑρμῆ πάγος, to *Mars* his *Areopagus*. [k] *Aschylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came and fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name frō the cases in it handled, of blood wilfully shed: so *Hesychius*, Ἄρειος ὁσυκὸς, That when [l] *Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the [m] *Tragœdian*, *the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend councell*, then which nothing is more constant (saies [n] *Tully*, comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe, as by [o] *Pseudo Dictys Cretensis* it is stvled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, more just, or honest, saies [p] *Xenophon*, [q] *Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and [r] *Cicero* received the like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unlesse they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, *Prytanes*, *Basilei*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, [s] Τίνες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) [t] Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέτων, that is, translated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) [u] *Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But [a] *Urbo emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems

[k] Eumenidib. p. 296.
[l] Satyr 9 v. 100.
[m] Æschylus pag. 297.
[n] Ad Atticum l. 1 ep. 11.
[o] De bello Troi. l. 6. p. 147.
[p] Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.
[q] In Solone pag. 63.
[r] Offic. l. 1.
[s] Loco laud.
[t] Pollux. l. 8. p. 497.
[u] De Athen. Mag. p. 446.
[a] De Rep. Athen. p. 20.

ſelfe∣ned the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* reſtored that authority & made it greater. [b] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men; [c] famous for good life, and innocency, πρὸς ἐδὲν ἐδεὶς ἐπιλήσιμον, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men, whoſe behaviour was intolerable, [d] ὃς πρὶν ἄλλοις ἀνάγκαις ἀνάγκαις ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ἐπιστρέψαντες τὴν φύσιν χρηστὴν, changed their natures and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. [e] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too eant of [f] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſide the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich. πλὴν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ σοφῶν διαφόντων. By which words he ſeemes to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, [g] who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annuall the number was doubtfull. For ſome might dye in that ſpace or all live, and in the next yeare be encreaſed. *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Aſcopolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟ, &c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus*, *Proconſul of Greece and Areopagite*, *the Councel of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*; and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimoniall of his good will and benevolence*. But that might only happen when this was erected. [h] They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μὴ τι μεγάλον ἁμάρτοι, unleſſe for ſome grand offence. [i] *Bozius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſes enim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them it is bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after Wiſdome*. Nevertheleſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſts, and the High Prieſt

[b] Vide Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionyſ. opera & Niceph. l. 2. in vita Dion.
[c] Pachymer. [d] Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133
[e] Loco ſupra laudato
[f] Athid. l. 3.
[g] Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtia.
[h] *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polemarchus *for which cauſe Pericles was not of that number becauſe whenever attained to theſe offices.* Plutar. in Pericl. p. 113.
[i] Anonymus loco laudat.
[i] De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For [k] they were overseers of all, [l] Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him who they hated, upon an action of battery, as [m] *Mantitheus* against *Boeotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impoisoners, if the party died they took their doses. [a] They saw that the Lawes should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statues. [c] In a word all great delinquencies came under their censures. They inquired into the behaviours of men & we read in [d] *Xenophon* that they sharply reproved a young man for his loose living. Ἀνακρίνουσιν αὐτὸν περὶ ἀριστοκρατίας, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*. [e] *Ulpianus Maximus. Est & ejusdem urbis* [f] *sanctissimum consilium Areopagus &c.* There is like wise in that Citty the most sacred Councell *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himselfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. [g] The Greek author tells us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth [h] *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the conncell of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the advise of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. [k] And whē their publique treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advise, when they had wonne the day, was a cause, saies [l] *Aristotle*, σώματος πλείους ἢ μᾶλλον, to give strength and sinewes to the

[k] Plutarc. Solon. p. 63.
[l] Ælian. Var. l. 13. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.
[m] Demost. in Orat. περὶς Βοιωτὸν περὶ ἐπιδικασίας.
[a] Dem. p. 445
[b] Pachymer.
[c] In Sympos. universe I. com extreamly forgetfull. It is quoted likewise by Athenæus Dipnos. l. 4. p. 167.
[e] Lib. 2. c. 6.
[f] Aristides T. 1. p. 331. περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἑλλην. ἀρχαιοτάτων καὶ μεγίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ ἀγαθῶν.
[g] Anon. Arg. Orat. Andror.
[h] De natura Deorum. [i] Bellum inter bellum gestū consilio Senatus eius. Cicero Off. 1.
[k] Plutarch in Themistocl. pag. 84. l. 3.
[l] Polit. l. 5. c. 4.

Common-wealth. [m] Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children, not observed by our Countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unstaidnesse in judgement, rashnesse in adventures, & pronenesse to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of religion, & divulging mysteries, as when [n] *Eurycles* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐπιδεικνύντες, replied, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalereus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον ἀπαγωγὴν πάγον, to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority S[t] *Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) [a] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his inditement to the *Basilens*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, [b] and putting off the crown which he was wont to weare, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies [c] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden [d] συνηγορεῖν τῷ διαβάλλοντι, to move to compassion, and use Proems as in other Courts, wherein they craved the judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed [e] συναγωγὰς. This [g] *Aristotle*

[m] Isocrates Areop p 132.

[n] Laert. lib. 2. in Aristippo. p 154.

[a] Symeon Metaphrast.

[b] Pollux, l. 8.

[c] Hermotim. p. 505.

[d] Pollux. pag 405.

[e] Vide Vlp. in Demost. pag 356.

ſtotle calls ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ λέγειν to ſpeak beſide the matter Before the triall both partis ſweare (which they ſtile ἐπωμοσίαν) The appealer ſtanding upon the teſtes of a Goat, a Ram, & a Bull (uſuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband, ὅπῃ τε ἴσασι δίκῃ πιόσιν, and *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* ὅπῃ πιόσιν τόκεσι) took oath therefore named ὄρκος ὅπῃ πιόσιν: in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and righely, & that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlaine man: which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ὅπῃ πιόσιν, I ſuppoſe is becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an exſtirpation of his houſe himſelfe, and his poſterity In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans. *Perjurandi contempta religio ſatis. Deorum ipſorum habetur.* For ſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God, but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Lex Majeſtatis*. After this the priſoner ſwore; which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon [a] two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος Τραῦμα, the ſtone of injury; the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought ἀναίτιος of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* calls πρὸ πραγμάτων. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονας to which he anſwered, ἔκτονα or οὐκ ἔκτονα yea or nay. Secondly, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέκτονας for what reaſon he did the murther. thirdly, Τίνι βουλεύμασι who were the Abettors. Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the murther was committed [d] σὺν δίκῃ, in juſtice. ([e] For in *Athens* there were ſuch Counſellors, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By σὺν δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which [f] *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanes with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine, or any whō he

[g] Pollux loco laudato Dem. cont. Ariſtocr. p. 413.
[b] Pauſanias Lacon. p. 103.
[i] Idem Meſſeniacis p. 126, & Demoſth. p. 608. & 416. *Theſe agreed ſates* Poſſard. *about the puniſhment, according to the damnage received.* De Athen. Mag. p. 449.
[i] Lib. 2. C. de rebus cred.
[a] Paul. Attic. p. 27.
[b] Eumenid. p. 292.
[c] Ibidem.
[d] Æſchylus p. 293.
[e] Demoſt. vid. p. 647.
[f] Demoſt. p. 312.

Vid. Demoſt. cont. Ariſtocr.

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

he accounts among his childrē; the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, which was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta tegere, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without ſpeaking (as the *Tabellæ ſententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrot C if they condemned. A if abſolved. N L if the caſe were not manifeſt) [c] hence Ἀρεοπαγίτης στυγερώτερος, for one that is cloſe and ſilent: and Ἀρεοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whoſe countenance is [g] *triſtis ſeveritas*. ὅτι τῷ σκυθρωπῷ καὶ κατηφεῖ καὶ σιωπηλῷ.

[g] Terentius.

[h] Ἡ τῶν ἀρεοπαγειτῶν ἐξουσία τῷ ἀδίκῳ παντὸς ἐφόβου. Pachymerius.

[i] Demoſt. con Ariſtocrat. p. 413.

[k] Ariſtides Tom. 1. p. 285.

[l] Ælian. Var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 13.

[m] Valer. Max. p. 382.

Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, [h] neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunall. And no marvail. For ſo upright was their ſentence, [i] that none either Appellant or Priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented. [k] ἀπῳδύνοι γὰρ ἂν οἱ τοῖς κατεγνωσμένοις. After doom the priſoner was to ſuffer death. In which execution alſo the *Areopagites* had a care leaſt the innocent ſhould be puniſhed with the guilty. [l] Wherefore they had condemned a woman for poyſoning another, they deferred the execution, becauſe ſhe was great with child, and ſtraight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which cuſtome is by us alſo obſerved at our Aſſiſes. [m] It will not be amiſſe to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconſul of *Aſia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & ſon, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuſer to appeare ſome hundred years after; that by ſuch a bottome of time, ſcarce able to be unwinded, they might ſhew, that neither would condemne nor acquit the woman. One thing more [a] *Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy

[c] Lib. quinto.

ſo

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſigne of a minde likely to prove moſt pernitious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt downe by *b Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more enclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlaine by *c Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three daies every moneth, τετράτῃ φθίνοντος, μέσῃ, ἑβδόμῃ.

b Plutarc. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 391.
c Plut. in Pericle. p. 213.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Iudicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

AFter the ſiege of Troy ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own; & ſlew many of the *Argivi*; which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſt had toucht, (οὐδὲν ὄρνεον ἔφαγεν ζῷον ſaies *Pollux*, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better thinke it no creature, either foule or beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*, being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, neither knowing nor knowne) they buried them; and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory, for murders unwillingly committed, and called it ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demophon* firſt tryed, who returning from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomwhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had ſtricken a man or woman, & the party chanced to dye, he was judged in this Court. *i* In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile, ἀειφυγία, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*,

d Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano l. 5. p. 14. Pa.
e Libro octavo pag. 406.
f Schol. Soph. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium. Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνακείμενον τῇ Παλλάδι ὅπλῳ.
g Pauſan. Attic. pag. 27.
h Demoſt. cont. Neæram. pag. 717. vide 647.
i Demoſth. pag. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never returne) but he did [b] ἐξέρχεσθαι, in a gentler terme. [l] For it was a custome of old, to give a certaine summe of mony (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἐπίπικα, in wilfull, all was confiscate) to the kindred of the slaine, that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboad they went somewhere else. [m] *Ovid. Cade puer factâ Patroclus Opuntia reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one yeare, [n] Ἄλλως γ' ἔφυγεν ὁ φονεὺς ἀπλῶν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐποιοῦν. The mony disbursed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ, *quasi* φοινὴ from φόνος murder, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiast of *Sophocles* tels us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of money, but abusively of any punishment. [o] If the party wounded had forgiven, the offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee: otherwise he fled. And in that flight hee betooke himselfe to some acquaintance, by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with certaine ceremonies of washing, which the *Romans* call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmaon* purified. [p] *Ovid.*

Gracia principium mortis fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cade per Æmonias solvit Acastus aquas.
Vectam frænatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;
Amphiaraiades Naupactio Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua.

In this ceremony they did θύειν, sacrifice, saies [q] *Demosthenes*, (which custome likewise was observed by the [r] *Trazenians* in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his mother, which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

k Demosthenes, Midiana.
l Eust. in Iliad. 1. Ἔθος παλαιὸν ἦν, φησὶ, φονέα φεύγειν πρός. &c.
m De Ponto lib. 1. Eleg. 4.
n Eustath: *But* Demosth. ἕως ἂν αἰδέσηται τὶς τῶν ἐν γένει τὸ πεπονθότα.
Until he obtained remission from some of the kindred of the slaine.
o Demosth.
b Fastorum 2. initio.
c Κατὰ Ἀστοκ. p. 414.
d Pausan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθαίρεται δὲ φασὶν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις, &c.

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrell, as I suppose, by the words following perswaded to it; which tell us, that when the σώματα were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, ὕδατι καὶ καθαρλίοις. This I said was in his flight. Κατίοντι δ' ἐστὶν οἷς καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τοῖ. The proceeding in this court, was first, ὀμωσία, such as before I Mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser and defendant: secondly, λόγοι, their speeches of both sides; thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν. Judgement. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

De Iudiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ, Πρυτανείῳ, Φρεαττοῖ.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by [e] *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius*, and *Diana Delphinia*, [a] where was the Tribunall named ἐν Δελφινίῳ, or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Iudicatory were heard cases of murder, when the party confessed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. [b] For the Law required no punishment of any man that should kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanesse with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or owne defence he spilt blood it was not capitall. The first that was arraigned here was *Theseus*, maintaining the right he had to slay the theeves, saies [c] *Pollux* (I know not whether hee meane *Sciron* and *Procrustes*, &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this triall of *Theseus*, whosoever

[e] Plutarch pag. 4. l. 19.
[a] Schol. Arist. pag. 333.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
[b] Demost. cont. Arist. p. 410, 411.
[c] Lib. 8. p. 406.
[d] Pausan. Att. p. 27.

soever had slaine any body was compelled to flee the country, or staying die, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like, fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that slung this be not knowne, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *f* φυλοβασιλῆς, that were the Masters of this court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which *g* *Æschines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τὰς λίθους, καὶ τὸ σίδηρον τὰ ἄψυχα, καὶ ἀνόμαστα ἐάν που ἀμυσσόντα ἀπεκτείνῃ ἐξορίζουσιν. The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call Βουτύπον, had slain an oxe on the altar of *Jupiter Poliews* in the time of *Erechtheus*. Ἐν φρεάττοι. In that part of *Pireaum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεαττύς, from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, some thinke; not because it stood in a pit, whence *b* *Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilfull murther *i* μετὰ φυγὴν ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἀνδροφόνον, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of his exile it happened that he wittingly slew another, he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled in φρεαττῖ, in a place seated on the sea; *k* τόπον ἐπιγαλαίῳον ἐπιδαλάττιον; where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark, was to make his apology, τὴν γῆν οὐχ ἁπτόμενος, not comming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor *l* or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty hee underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of the fact, not discharging him of the former, *m* τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πρότερον εἶναι φυγὴν ἔσχει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this triall, he was exposed to the cruell mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seeme to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of Αἴαντος; *n* whom treacherously circumvented because he defended not, his father *Telamon* drove out of

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.

i Demost. cont. Aristocr. 425.

k Demost. ib.

l Rodolphus Gualterus *out of* Pollux *interpreteth it*, Scalam terræ injicientem, *putting downe a ladder*; *the Greeke* καταβάθραν.

m Demosthen.

n Dictis cretensis de bello Trojano lib. 6. p. 145.

Salamin

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored, he made appeale to this court. Which gives light to *b Aristotle* Ὅσοι φεύγουσι φόνου, ἐπὶ πρόδηλῳ ἐπιφέρουσι δίκῃ Ἀθήνησι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐφέταις δικαστήριον. Iudicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for bringing back againe, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν ἐφέταις. When the party prosequuting will not admit of reconciliation. *b* Politicon 4. c. 17.

CAP. III. Sect. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παρέδρων. Τείχους. Βαφικῶν. Φοινικῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μετίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδηττῷ. Διαιτηταί.

BEsides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there were for civill matters these, *Heliaa*, of which before for the excellencie of it I treated. Παρέδρων. Of this name there were two, οἱ πάρεδροι μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters saies *Petis*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which *c Aristotle* might be thought to looke speaking of Iudicatories, ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα, &c. And this was the meaning of *d Pausanius*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συμβόλοις εἰς αὐτό. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecim viri* were judges of the Court, which made *Petis* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δίκας δικαστήρια. It stood *e* ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως in an obscure place of the city; whence ἐν ὑποβύσει in *f Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded, privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of this Iudicatory, or παρασκευάσματα ἢ ἐν ἐπιπολαίοις ἐνῆν, καὶ κρύφα τῷ φανερῷ, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν παρεδρίοις, αὐτὶ τοῦ λιθόστρωτοι Τρίγωνοι, from the forme of it, which seemes to have beene triangular. Βαφικῶν, and Φοινικῶν, from the colours that were painted *g* ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον ἐστὶν upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staffe given to the Iudges, that they

c Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

d Atticis p. 27. l. 13.

e Pausanias ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Aristoteles apud Athen. R. p. Arist. Schol. p. 31.

they might know in what court to sit; For they presently went to that court which had the same colour with their staffe. Τὸ ὁπὶ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* and *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolfe; where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every court; hence [b] Λύκου δικαὶ, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants and such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read [a] πάλαι γὰρ σωφέστατοι οἱ σωδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understood ὡς ἦν or the like) at which they who bribed the Iudicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἔνθα οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ δίκαι πονηρόδικοι συναγέροντο. The [b] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Iudicatory, where the Iudges divided their money for pay, three *oboli*, to each, a day. [c] Μητίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Iudicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer, which built it. Here, who had passed thirty yeares of his age, and was well and nobly defeended, and owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunall so called: neither did [d] *Meursius* thinke otherwise, when he translated these words of *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ. The Iudicatories were wont to take oath, or be sworne in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutiny, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Iudges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the lawes; and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, [f] *by Apollo Patrius, Ceres*, and *Iupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirmes, speaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν τῷ

[a] Lib. octavo, p. 476 *the place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greeke.*
[b] Vesp. p. 457.
[c] Pollux l. 8.
[d] Athen. Attic. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.
[e] Lib. 8. pag. 406.
[f] Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητερα, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.
[g] Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῶν ὤν πρὸ χαρίου ὄμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ ὁ δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Iudges in this place tooke their oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently sweare, were called [h] *Ardetti*, proverbially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. [i] Καὶ Ἀρδίτιος τὸν ἐπίορκον. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Iudicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters, *Holiæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, saies [k] *Possardus*; of whom; because [l] *Emmius* numbers them among *Iudicia quatuor præcipua*, the foure chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen [m] forty foure men, [n] above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Cittizen. [o] In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands (if it exceeded ten drachmes. Although [p] *Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty busines) but that seemes to be, Τὰ ἐν ἱερῷ, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their jurisdiction. What ever the Διαιτηταὶ (αὐτοὶ) judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might refeire it to the Senate (as appeares out of the [q] Argument of *Demosth: Orat: contra Callippum* & [r] *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintif by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. [s] When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrot the accusation, with the fine which

[h] Casaubon. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
[i] Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
[k] De Mag. Athen. p. 340.
[l] Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
[m] Ulpian in Dem. p. 342.
[n] Pollux lib. 8. p. 407.
[o] Pollux ib.
[p] Demost. loco citato.
[q] Pag. 678.
[r] Lib. 8. p. 407.
[s] Vide Dem. Midian. &c. Ulpian in illam. p. 344.

which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the plaintif one drachme, which they called *t* Δίκαιον, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. This office was but annuall; And because they would pervert justice, (as *u Demosthenes* it witnesse, * although they were not to judge before they had sworne) give sentence according to favour, envie, or for gaine, therefore *x* at the yeares end they made an account of their function upon the last day of *y Thargelion*, on which it was lawfull for any to speak what he could object against them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Κληρωτοί. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromissarii*, and we in English Arbitrators: whom two parties choose with a resolution to stand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controversie soever. Such by the *Attick* law any might request, but with a necessity of abiding at their judgement. *z* For they could not appeale from them to any other court. To referre matters to their arbitrement, the Greekes terme Διαίτην διδόναι. And it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunus* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Eli* and *Calydonii* had chosen arbitrator in a differency after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence untill at last he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, *a* Βοῦνος δικάζει, *Bunus judicat*, *Bunus* judgeth, of those that defer to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspence.

t Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. p. 498.

u Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem p. 682. n. 41.

x Ulpian loco laudato 342.

y Perit. Miscel. l. 8. p. 211.

z Vide legem apud Dem. pag. 344.

a Zenobius

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Iudicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Atticke* Courts, it followes that I speak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accusations. These were of two sorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, saies *b Emmius*. Of

b Descrip. Reip. Ath. p 41.

Κατη-

Καπηλείων, there were divers sorts. Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀφήγησις, δίκη ἐξαλοφίας, ἐπιμελείας. Γραφὴ, saies *Vlpian*, is ὅπου τις παρανόμων, of any trespasse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Common-wealth are violated; & most properly, (quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a [d] Writ, or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in [f] *Sueton. Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. [g] φάσις is a kind of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to bee paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the first part of the suffrages, hee was to lay downe the sixt part of the fine; which the [h] Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In generall, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις, which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not so, if [i] *Pollux* say right. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπωβελία τὴν ἀδικουμένων, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνειν. The amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written downe a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme; if it exceeded, a thousand, foure hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to beare office, saies [k] *Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The [l] Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amisse in publique affaires; & the [m] Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ὅτι τὴν ἀδίκων

[c] In Demost. pro Corona. p. 159.
[d] Orat. contra Lept. p. 296.
[e] Sir T. Smith. Com. Wealth of Engl. l. 2. c. 10.
[f] In Vitellio.
[g] Pollux. l. 8. p. 387.
[h] Demost. cont. Cariel. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Everg. & Mnesib. pag. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. p. 622. n. 9. contra Onetor. p. 852. Εξουλ. C. p. 518. n. 19. cont. Aphob. C p. 508. n. 97.
[i] Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
[k] In Demosth. p. 391.
[l] In Equit. p. 303.
[m] Pag. 469.

for men disfranchised. But [a] *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the maner; which the *Greeks* terme ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι, [b] Schol. *Nazianz.* ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλοπῇ, *Pollux* expresses by ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικεῖσθαι, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledgement of their guiltinesse, without greater triall, they received their doome [c] as among us when a prisoner arraigned, cõfesses his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him, there resteth but the Iudges sentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our proverb, **Confesse and be hanged.** [d] *Pollux*, ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀκρίτως, ἀλλὰ πειθοῖς δεσμῶν. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως, The declaration was against men who were not present.

[a] Onom. lib. 8. p. 388.

[b] In Stelit. 1.

[c] Sir T. Smith Commonw. of Eng. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.

[d] Loco laud.

Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before a Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whõ otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγὴ; they brought not all offendors to the same Magistrats, but according as they were made Iudges of such and such offences; [e] sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the [f] *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treasury, or bound for those places or countries, where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murther, if by reason of weaknesse he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme ἀφηγεῖσθαι. Ἀνδροληψίου, is when a fellon hath committed murther, & flies for succour to any; ([g] as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the slaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to thẽ, and the protector would not, it was lawfull to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it,

[e] Vlp. in Dem. p. 389.

[f] Idem. p. 407.

[g] Dem. p. 416.

or

or all save three, ἄχει τειῶν, as others, who were to answere for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies * *Vlpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as * elsewhere he speaks of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democratie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to Warres before they were sent, or betrayed a Garrison, Army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, & lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was incontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth; & as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελικός. The Senate was *Iudge* (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, & *Phalerius* 1500. Where the interpreter erres. For πρὸς πενταχοσίοις is 500 to them, as ἕξ πρὸς, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions; private were these that follow, more properly called δίκαι.

* Idem com. Arist. p. 415.
* In Dem. p. 58
x Eund. p 453.

Αἰκίας δ. is an Action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the [y] Greeks call ἀρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων. [z] The matter was heard before the Iudges; and though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for dammages, yet it permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. [a] The reason why these actions were so strictly lookt into, was, lest any, not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seek to revenge himselfe with stones, or other hurtfull weapon.

y Dem. p. 410. v. de Vlp. ibid. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 637.
z Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745.
a Dem. cont. Con. p. 690.

b Idem ibid.

b Καπηλείας ſ. Somewhat neere our proviſo of giving the lye, leaſt by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blowes. Βλάβης ſ. Is when any man receives dammage and hurt in eſtate by anorher man. *c* As to turne water into his ground, by which it is anoy'd. *d* To refuſe to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another. *e* To promiſe to beare witneſſe in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe falls, and the like. Παρακαταθήκης ſ. About pawnes, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the uſurers, *f* as cloathes, houſhold-ſtuffe, &c. Or about money put to the Banck, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Αποστασίου ſ. Of divorce. *h* For they were wont to put away their Wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποστάσιον, & as *Lyſias* ἀπέπεμψεν on the husbands ſide, and on the Wives ἀπέλειψεν: for he did as it were turne her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως ſ. Of ill uſage of Parents, as not relieving them if they were poore. Of Wives againſt Husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night it was deadly. Χρέως ſ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his mony: which he termes *k* τόκιον ἀργύριον Of uſury I ſhall ſpeake more in Cap. of money. Συμβολαίων. ſ. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it. *l* *Ariſtotle*. δίκαι περὶ ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθήκης ἀθετάσεως ſ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between man and man, or between Citty and Citty, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Ariſt. Pol.* 3. c. 6. or the like. *m* Theſe συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας ſ. *n* a contention

c Arg. Orat. Demoſt. cont. Calliclem.

d Demoſt. cont. Callip. p. 680. n. 20.

e Demoſt. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.

f Sch. Ariſtot. 137. E.

g Cont. Phor. n. 555. n. 7. 8.

h Vide Cajetum Oſſetv. l. 6. c. 15.

i *This is reckoned among the Lawes which were made for private men:* Ulp. in Dem. p. 481.

k Vid Caſaub. in Theoph p. 191. Char περὶ Αποκρίσεως.

l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.

m Dem. p. 651. n. 13.

n Ulp in Dem. p. 62 & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δ'. When parents dyed and left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to ſue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa*. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ'. About letting of houſes. (For *Herodotus* termes that ἐνοικίδιον, which other Greek writers μισθῶσιν, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, μισθοῦν and ἀπομισθοῦν, to let out. Which they often did for want of mony, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we uſe to doe, This Houſe is to be let. Which cuſtome *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expreſſes -- *Inſcripſi ilico*, ΕΔΕΣ ΜΕΡCΕΔΕ) This Writ was properly againſt Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, ſuch as immediatly is before ſpoken) who having takē the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that ſuch a houſe was to be let, he then put it out upon ſome pledge for ſecurity. But if the houſe were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was ſuffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loſſe of the Pupill, then was it lawfull for any mā to ſue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court? upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου ? Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have obſerved it to have been a cuſtome among the Ancients, when they perceived themſelves to draw neere to death, to call for ſome one, to whoſe care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beſeech them to have a tēder eye over them, and to provide for them what ſhould be moſt convenient: ſuch as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theſeus* in the behalfe of his daughters. - Ὦ φίλον κάρᾳ δός μοι χεῖρ' ἵν' ὅρκων ταῖς πίσυν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Ὑμῖν τε πᾶσι τῷδε κἀμοὶ καταίνεσον Μήποτε προδώσειν τὰς δ' ἐκεῖν, τελεῖν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλλῃς ὁρᾶν δ' ξυμφέρον τ' αὐταῖς ἄεί. Not unlike is that of the *r Comœdian* under

o Pollux l. 3. c. 3. f. 136.

p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oed. Colp. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

Accessi: vos semota: nos soli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atq; ætatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utraq; inutiles,
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perq; hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor, ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te solùm semper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi, IN MANVM DAT, *mors continuò ip.*
(sam occupat.

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wills, whom they would have to bee Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς, as [f] *Demosthenes* did sue his as soone as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five years after the Pupill was admitted among the number of men, by the Law the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, Of a Master against a Servant ingratefull for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because as [u] *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of servants, once made free, not only to be ingratefull, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude, should againe be made a bondslave.* *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum quàm memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the Citty (which

[f] Plut. in vita ejus.

[t] Demosth. p. 724. n. 22.

[u] Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they terme [x] *Maximam capitis diminutionem*, Σίτου. If any man put away his Wife he was to restore her portion againe, if he refused, he was ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀβολοῖς πυροφορεῖν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli* which the *Attick*s terme [y] ἐπιδοσιμον οἰκικὸς, the revenew of her dowrie. The Writ whereby he was sued was Σίτου δίκη, for the repaiment. Ἐνοικίου, If any went to Law, as clayming Title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demãds his rent for the time the defendant had the house: if it were for any parcell of land, there was a Writ καρπῶν given out, for the provent & fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἰσπας δίκη, in which they claimed right and title to the house and land. Although in all these trialls the defendant were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land; but if in a third triall, which they call ἐξόλης, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἐξόλη also is a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξόλλειν, to throw forth. [a] It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrowne in the Court, & fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not downe upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἐξόλης, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who wil not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς διαίρεσιν. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, hee might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως. Because the Market place amõg the Greeks was the fittest to cheat & cosen in, as [b] *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therfore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the market place; (to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they

[x] Iustin. Inst. l. 1. T. 16.

[y] Demost. p. 733.

[z] Dem. pag. 655. n. 58.

[a] Vlp. in Dem. p. 340.

[b] Apud Laert. p. 74.

they forbad to speak falſe, and yet did ἐν δὲ καπήλοις ψεύδεσθαι)if any man had bargained for any thing, and another ſued and doubted of the right of it, *c* he might require the ſeller to confirme the lawfulneſſe of the thing ſold, and maintaine it againſt all controverſy, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable to βεβαίωσις δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the moſt part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as *d Scaliger* & *e Caſaubon* truly interpret it, *Turnebus*, *Repræſentatâ pecuniâ*: yet ſometime gave they Earneſt onely to make the thing ſure, which the *Greeks* & *Latines* call *g* ἀρραβών, from the *h Hebrew* ערב. This ſeems to me to have been the hundreth part of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i Stobæus* out of *Theophraſtus*. Where you may read likewiſe that it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, to bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάσασιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law, by *k Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another mans ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Maſter, which the Greeks terme *l* ὡς δικαίως ἐλεύθερον ἀφελόμενος. Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about neerneſſe of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own body. Παραλαβολὴ, When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as neere of blood; or upon ſome other conditions: from παραλαμβάνειν; becauſe he laid downe the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, ſaies *m Budæus*: but publique, the fift. *n* Διαμαρτυρία. When any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controverſy, and is ἐπίδικος, as a true heire being ſtill alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leocharet*. Ἔπισκηψις. When any ſhall try to falſifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀντιγραφὴ. When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

c Pollux lib. 8. c. 6 p. 385.

d In Auſon. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.

f Adverſariorum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don. Quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

h Vide Daſy. in Baſil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.

l Demoſth. p. 718. n. 29.

m Pand. Prio. p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n. 78.

Here followeth the termes promiſcuous, private and publique which are publique and lawfull for any to proſequute: ſee Pollux, p. 386.

Ἀπροστάσιον.

Ἀπροστάτου δίκη. All ſtrangers in Athens were compelled by the law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolemaſter the glory of his time [o] Mr *Mathew Buſt* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, and if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the Citty Treaſury. Ἀχαριστίας of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενίας the ſame with ἀποστάσιον, when any will reckon himſelfe among the number of Cittizens who had never been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment untill ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witneſſe of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, When another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον fælſewitneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they terme ἐπαγωγὴν ψευδομαρτυρίου. Λιποματρύριον, wheu one was eyewitneſſe & promiſed to teſtify, yet would not appear at the appointed time; which they were wont to compell them to doe, which they call κλητύειν, after which citatiõ the party was to be at court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent; otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand *Drachmes*, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητικὸν δικαστήριον. Δώρων γραφὴ, When the Judges were corrupted with bribes. Δικασμὸν againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idleneſſe, which once taken *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſſe of the Citty priviledges, *Solon* not unleſſe he were thrice delinquent. Λιποναυτίου, When any of the marriners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχίου, When the Marriners that ſtaied in the ſhips would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδεγγραφὴς when any would falſely accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a writ ἐπιζημίους. Ψευδεκλητείας Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the nnmber of Cittizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free-dom. Παρανόμων when any

[o] In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euthaitenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accuſed of making a decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſatiō was called νομωσία, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes or unjuſt or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. δοκιμασία was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to governe or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt and incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not ſuffered to plead or ſpeake publikely. Ευθυνη An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Logiſtæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ Λογὸν λόγον δοῦναι Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are wellwillers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious ξυβεῖσαντας, [p] & ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivalls, as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προμοσία, An oath which the accuſer took that he would juſtly accuſe [q] Αντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Εξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſickneſs they cannot give attēdance. They may doe it by a proxie if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the oath of one called to witneſſe, wherein he ſwears that he knowes nothing of the buſineſſe. Αντωμοσία When others ſhall ſwear that pretended weakneſſe was only a ſhift to put off the burthē of publique office which the ſtate laid on them. Γραφὴ an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner. as above ſaid. Παραγραφὴ & παραδικία when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch and ſuch, and not as it is *ex.gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποταξίου, and I accuſe him of

p Lib. Arg. in Medianam.

q Vlpian in Dem.226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit λιποταξία, or obiection of the time past within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court and not in such, as wilfull murther in *Areopagus* not *Palladium*, by which evasion if the case fell it was termed ἄγεφος. Ἀντιγεφή, when he that is sued puts in a bill against the plaintif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγεφάδικον so) were cast he payed ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ ἔσα, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri a controversy, if he swear that he is sick or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμῃ *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come or were obstinate, he ought within tenne daies to sue out μὴ ἔσαν, wherein he reproved the sentence and made it of no effect so as it came to its first state againe. But if he could not obtaine a μὴ ἔσα, having before sworn that he would stād to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength & power, and he was constrained to pay a thousand drachmes, as [s] *Vlpian* which was the mulct appointed by the law, for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ, When any was absent from the Court or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto he was fined, as conscious of Eremodicium, and if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ) he was sure to pay the fine. Ἐνεσκήψασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited & publiquely sold somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they terme ἐνεσκήμμα. Πεῖρα is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheritrix. Now if the plaintif did not warne the defendant ἐπισθδικασάμενον, the suit died, and such actions are called ἀπείρατοι δίκαι. [t] Πεῖρα is as letting a case fall or dissolving it upon some witnesse, oath, confession extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις is an appeal from one court to

[r] Vlpian in Dem. 343.

[s] In Dem. p. 340.

[t] Dem. p. 523.

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμητος δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adversary did ἐπιγράψειν, write downe at the lower end of his inditement: of which custome somewhat hath before been spoken. Βοὸς κλοπῆς δίκη, Against such as stole Oxe dung out of their neighbours lãds; whence of those that are put in the court for triviall matters the proverb [u] Βοὸς κλοπὴν. Ἀσεβείας of impiety against their Gods, as Aristotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as on the cõtrary the accuser if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. [*] Ἀγραφίς, If any owed to the Citty Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγραφίς, but if his name were never entred, he was prosequted by an ἔνδειξις, Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devon-shire* her sister. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his work, who should dig within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Mineralls by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise ἀγραφὴ μεταλλῶν against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the foure and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publique Treosury. Now if any presumed

[u] Aristoph. Sch. p. 328. Laertius in vita.

[*] Dem. cont. Theocr. pag. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

[x] Dem. con. Pantæ. p. 567 n. 51, 52.

[y] In vitis Decem. Rhet. p. 453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuſe him ἀγεγόνει μισθάλλε. Ἀφορμῆς δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. [z] For ἀφορμὴ among the *Attick's* is the ſame that ὑπόθηκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Iure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they uſed ἀφορμὴ for meanes, and ſuſtenance [a] προβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that [b] καταδικάσας is the Judge that gives ſentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controverſy, to be the meanes that the ſentence paſt againſt the defendant. [c] Ἄφεσις is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to diſcharge all and therefore deſires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

[z] Argum. Pharm. Orat. p. 554.

[a] Sch. Eurip. Med. p. 368. [b] Vlpian in med. p. 368. [c] Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus & Amatoriis.

CAP. I.

De Venere, & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens*, had their habitation too neer the Sea, to keep their affections farre from her that roſe of the *Foame*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over-favourable name of ἐπαίρα will ſufficiently teſtify. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία (a *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, b or the play with the ball, then her: and the other for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Κάλλος ἐράσιον, & Κάλλος πάνδημον, λέγω δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀθρώπους κάλλη πανταχοῦ, τὸ μὲ ἐράσιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον. ὥσπερ τὰ κάλλη αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲ ἐράσιον ἔχεται τῆ ψυχῆ καλῆ δεδαμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ θεὸς ἐρᾶσθαι ταχὺ φθέγγ. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ὄρνιθι ἔοικε, καὶ ἐγχειρίζει σὲ πᾶσι κόμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But, *à diuturculo*, the Sacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἁγνότερα, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity then became her; but thoſe

a *Pauſanias.*

b ἐράσμα, a play ſo called.

thoſe of the laſt, ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, as *eaſy* and as wicked as her ſelfe: For every farthing-ſtrumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸς, [c] or the Σύριον, thoſe Καπηλεῖα Ἀφρο- [c] *Pauſanias.*
δίτης, or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinkes* [d] beſides *places* for the purpoſe, they had *garments* al- [d] *Cloacæ.*
ſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the Garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparell fit for ſuch *Flora's* and the *Roſes* * ſo early gathered. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* [e] *ſit.* The faſhion of her Picture they had [e] *Cæl. Rhod.*
from the *Cyprians* (viz.) with a head, and all like a man as farre downe as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman: (to ſhew ſhee had a place in the *Ditches* [f] too as well as in the *Sinkes* and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes.) Inſo- [f] *Inter Socraticos notiſſimas foſſas cinædos* Juven. Sat. 2.
much, that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam.* for there is one that ſaies

------ *Pollentemq; Deum venerem.* Which *Macrobius* himſelfe commends for the beſt, and therefore in *Virgill Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reades

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior ----- and not *Deâ*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, for his Beards ſake, (tis likely.) But, now this makes more worke, and therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one pot-full of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtome, *et ſacrificium facere vitos cum veſte muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mas, & Fœmina æſtimaretur,* (ſo ſaies *Philocho us* cited by *Macrobius*) If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe: I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*, only the [g] Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Vi-* [g] *Ariſtophanes* Act. 5. ſc. 2.
rago) honours the Man-hood of the Goddeſſe, with a τὸν ἀνδρώδη τοῦ θεοῦ, as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with ἀ τριόδιτις ἐν τριόδοισι. Nor [h] in Φαρμακ. εἰδύλ. 6.
is it enough, that the Mother is thus religiouſly woo'd, and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple

too

too, And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſſe then a *Calfe*.

Ῥέζω πόρπν ἔρατι χαύτῃ Ἐῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

ſaies *Theocritus*, and *Amori Litari* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinkes he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his *Mothers* Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxis* and crown'd with Flowers) & have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temples of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως, in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψίθυρος, doe more then *whiſper* what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous the People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Pæderaſtiâ.

TO omit the Τριβάδας, and the Abomination of the *Women* one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν [i] χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν; give me leave to ſpeak a little of their Παιδερασταὶ, or παιδόμανια, and the Ἀρρενομανία [k] practiſed by the *Men* upon their own Sexe. The firſt that ever taught

----- *Amorem*
In teneros transferre Mares. ----

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholler of his the *Roman* was *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*, and for the Greekes, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them: which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius Nepos* [l] *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another, *Ineunte Adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelfe afterward was more then *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-rougery* as well as [m] *Pauſanias* or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * Sectaries. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtotle* ſay true, made a Law for a toletation of it. The [o] *Megarenſes* had their

i *Ep. ad Rom. c. 1. v. 26.*
k *Ibid. v. 27.*
l *Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.*
m *Aemil. Prob.*
n *Plato in Symp.*
* *Socratici κύνες δοι.*
o *Athenæus.*

Kiſſing

Kissing-matches, when he that could kisse ſweeteſt was led away in pompe *Corollis unuſtus*. only thus much is ſaid in commendation of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, that they confined the Luſt to the perſon of a ſlave. Nay [p] *Ælian* (who makes bold to *vary* from other authors in ſeverall relations) goes farther, and ſaies, Σπαρτιάτης δὲ ἔρως Ἀσχὴν ἐκ ὄισθην. but how true that is I know not, I am ſure their τὰ παιδικὰ, and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain ſong* what they loved: though I confeſſe, I have found no ſuch feats among them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refuſing to ſubmit. one word more and I have done. He that was inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the trick of *Pyramus* [r] and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of ἐσπιλᾶς, or ἐσπηλος, or rather ἐσπνήλας as *Callimachus* hath it.

[p] L. 3. *Var. Hiſt.* c. 12.

[q] *Lycoph.*

[r] Ingē vices *fuerat captatus aubelitus orii.*

Μόμβλητο δ' ἐσπήλης ἐκπύτι Κύζος ἰοὶ.

By which word (ſaith the *Etymologicall Dictionary*) is denoted, ὁ ὑπὸ τῦ ἔρωτος, (or rather ἐρῶντες) ἐσπασόμενος. one *inſpired*, ſhall I ſay, or *belov'd*, for ſo ſignifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite* as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we ſay) or *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*, take the Authors own word for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ λίον) πρὸ ἐρασῶν ἐσπύειν αὐτοὺς. Λακεδαιμονίων δ' ἔστι ἃ φασὶ, ἐρᾶν δὲν λέγυσα, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἐμπτύειν too. ἐμπτεῖ μὲ, ἐρᾷ μυ, πυθεῖ με. This was all (as he ſaies) or (as I ſay) it ſhould) it ſhould have been all, for a man may love his houſe well enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I muſt confeſſe they had ſo much care ſtill of the *Common-wealth*, notwithſtanding their *private* pleaſures, as not to give a voyce to one whom they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to ſcratch his head with one finger. Inſomuch that if a man had ſued for an Office, to give a teſtimony of his virtue, and Manlike diſpoſition, he was faine to lift up his Armes, and ſhew his haire in his Arme-pits.

----- Χείρωνος

Ἐξωμισάσαι ἢ ὅπερον βεκχίονα, saies *Aristophane* and good reason for this practice, for,

Duræ per brachia setæ
Promittunt arrorem animum ----- saies *Persius*,

[f] *Apud Aristoph.* and therefore, the Woman [f] that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

----- Πρῶτον μὲν ἔχω τὰς μαχάλας
Λοχμῆς δασυτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seeme as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the *Romans* are said to have used (for which service they had their ἀλωπεκάς, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their haire and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a *Love as should not indeed be named amongst us*. I will now proceed to speake of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in [t] *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

[t] *Achill. Tat. lib. 2.*
[u] *Metam. l. 11.*

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen they first *listed* themselves into the service (for, *Militat omnis Amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemne businesse, as to be formally initiated, like so many Priests.

Ἄγε δή μοι Ἀφροδίτης μυσταγωγήσω. saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe* * Ἐπὶ σῇ βίβλῳ καταμυήσην τὸν Ἔρωτα, saies *Ismenias* [x] to his Mistresse, alluding (it may be) to such Bookes as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Litteris ignorabilibus* [z] *prænotatos*.

[y] *Achill. l. 2.*
[x] *Eustath. l. 5.*
[y] *Loco ante laudato.*
[z] *Hieroglyphicis.*

Well it seemes *Venus* had her μυσήρια too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tatling was

was under the Rose.

Conscius omnis abest Nutu significe

And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer* for nothing, seeing speaking thorow the teeth, and *whispering* thorow the walls (like *Pyramus* [b] and *Thisbe*) was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that ὑπόψιθος βοὴ in *Euripides*, *succrotilla vocula, feminina fabulare* [c] *succrotilla vocula*, saies one, παρατὶ δεμόνη τὸ ποππίσμα χαίρεις ὑποψιθύρισα, [d] saies another of *Imene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by stealth, for what are all their pleasures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* [e] but a *Thiefe*. No wonder then if lovers used to worship the Moone, and the Night be the blind boyes holy-day, [f] Κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νύξ, saies one (like that of the Scholiast upon *Theocritus* δεῖ γὰρ κλεπτομένοις ἑρμῆ σπεύδειν, καὶ νυκτὸς) for the greatest part of their imployments were not able to look upon the Sunne. Yet *Pindar* (as I take it) saies the custome was, for the man to worship the Sunn, and the Woman the Moon, it may be the Man's ayme [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans, the Moons in bringing her [h] children to light.

Besides these, Θεὸς ὁ Παὶ ἐρατικὸς [i] *Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be were of *Theocritus* his mind

----- Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς δίδωσι δικάζειν) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and loosenesse, to sweare and forsweare as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught --- *Perjuria ridet amantum.* Insomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος became but a proverb at last, as being accounted ἐπ' ἐπιπλήσει, nay if *Plato* (in *Ephebo*) say truth, Ἐν δὲ ἡδοναῖς δὲ ἔστι τὸ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν παγκάλως εἴληφε θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes, and none can play the* [k] *knave better then an Abbot that hath been a Monke.*

[a] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

[c] *Titinnius.*

[d] *Eustath.*

[e] *Theocritus* saies he stole honicombs. *Id. 20.*

[f] *Eurip.*

[g] *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit & Ovid Met. lib. 4. fab. 6.*

[h] *Luna parturiens adest.*

[i] *Longus in Pastoral. l. 2.*

[k] French proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether such an one were in *Love* or not, (though they say Love and the Cough can never be hid) at the keeping of a feast, they took speciall notice of the untying of his Garland (as we use to doe of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soone of the reason, for [l] *Athenæus* saies it had been a riddle a thousand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τὸ τοὺς παραπαιόντας ἐὰν λύῃ στέφανος. ἑᾶν λόγον, and he himselfe hath served up no lesse then eight other reasons, but I know never a one better then another to give you a tast. Another signe that they were in Love, was the tinkling of the Eare, whence that of *Sappho* βομβεῦσι δ' ἀκοαὶ μου, and *Catullus*,

l Lib. 15. Deipnos.

----- *Sonitu suopte*
Tintinant aures. -----

To know whether the party lov'd did love againe, they took a leafe (whether of *Poppie*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλάτιλον *quasi* δηλάτιλον, ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι τὴν φιλίαν) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumbe of the left hand (as our Children use to doe with us) struck it with the right, if it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a sigh, out alas!

Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον ποτὶ μαινόμενον πλατάγησεν. saies *Theocritus Idyll.3.* So [m] at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the crosse beame of a Ballance) with a paire of Scales hanging to it, under the scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brasse, gilded and called by the name of Μάνης ([n] once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) & would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

[m] *Aristoph. Schol in Pace.*

[n] *Id. in Avibus.*

phiale

phiale of braſſe (τὸν κότταβον) and to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turne of the hand (ἀναχύλω they call it, and thence κότταβοι ἀναχύλιστοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they call'd καταγλώ from κάπτω, the *klat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall. Now he that could doe this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſinke, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (εἰ μὴ χυθὲν τοῦ οἴνου) ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him ſaith the Scholiaſt) preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtreſſe, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the uſuall reward of victory in moſt of their playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good ſlaſh it was counted as luckie for a Lover as the *crack of the Leaſe*. Thus to drinke and play they called κοτταβίζειν (as κοττάβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldome a drinking match without it.

Ἑστᾶσι κοτταβίζειν
Συβαϊ̈ζειν
Ἰὼ ἰὼ κακαχάνα.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* gamball they are aſhamed to own themſelves, and therefore turne it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might ſpeake more of κότταβος, were it either fitter for the preſent diſcourſe, or not ſpoken of ſo largely, and by ſo many as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus* and others already: let it ſuffice only to mind you of the folly ſo uſuall among Lovers in thoſe times, according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ δ' φιλέοντες ἀκόντιον ἧκαν ἔρωτες
Οἰνοπόῃ Σικελὰς ἐν κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoriis.

BUT what if ſhee could not be wonne over by faire meanes? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but firſt they muſt get ſomething or other of her's into their poſſeſſion, and worke upon that, according to the nurſes adviſe to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

Δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δή τι τῆς προθυμίας
Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγου τι ἢ πίστιν ὑπὸ
Λαβεῖν, σωσάσθαι τ' ἐν δυοῖν μιᾶι χάριν.

And if they could come to the ſight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a faſcination. ὀφθαλμόν τινά βάσκανον ἀνεσπάσατο, he threw a *ſheepes* eye at her (ſaith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb that *Love comes in at the Window and goes out at the Dore*, may not abſurdly be underſtood of the eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* call θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς the Doores of the Soul, which ſeem to be the way & the paſſage by which the two loves goe in and out, ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἔρωτος, ſaith *Muſæus*, or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. Ὀφθαλμὸς αἰσθητὴς τὴν ἔρωτα, ſaith * *Euſtathius*: and ſo † *Lucian* makes the ſight the firſt ſtep in *Cupid's* ladder of love. To trie therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would goe to the houſe where ſhe liv'd, and the faſhion being for the Daughter εἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the ſtrangers (as *Sosthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ipmenias*) after the old folke had drunke, when it came to their Miſtreſſes to drink to them, they obſerved at what part of the cup ſhe dranke, to be ſure to drinke at the ſame, according to that of the * Poet

* *Lib. 4.*

* *Lib. 3.*

† in ἔρωσι.

* *Ovidde Arte Am. lib. 1.*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Poculaq; quâq; bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forſooth

forſooth they thus to have a kiſſe *mediatè* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup καταπίνειν τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to kiſſe the cup, but to cup the kiſſe.

Nam tranſmiſſa tuis ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe

Πορφυρέης δ' ἐμοὶ ἀκὺλιξ ἔβλυσε τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiſſe they uſed to call ἀποστολικὸν φίλημα, (*miſſivum oculum*, or a Kiſſe conveyed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* doe. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will trie what they can doe with the Tongue, by inchanting ſongs and tales, or by the Hand with gifts and Philtres ἐκ δὲ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ ἰύγγων, ſaies *Xenophon*. Ἰύγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird, (whether it be *torquilla* or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus* the moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her ring with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body but *Iuno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* ſaies *Callimachus*) becauſe ſhe bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and a making very ſutable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the taile. and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her roguery, for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſome times they ty'd her ἐπὶ τινὸς τροχοῦ to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charme as they whirled it ronnd, ſometimes (at leaſt the entralls) to a τροχὸς of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and playd? as ſome ſay it is, and ſthat it is therefore commonly uſed

used for any pleasant thing, or inticement Ἴυγγι ἕλκομαι ἣ πῶ saies * *Pindar*, or any other Magicall Love toy, such as *Vngues* muscles, wreathed fillets, hayre, and bands of twisted wooll, and diverse other gamballs of the same brann, according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient *Poet.*

* *Nem. Od.* 4. vid. *Theoc. Pharmaceutr. & Aristophan. Lusistrate prope finem.*

Trochisci: Vngues, tæniæ
Aureæ, Ilices bitortilæ.

* not στεπτὸν.

* Περὶ ποταμ.

With no stronger chaines then those of twisted wool(*μειλιχὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturne* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him downe. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes* woollen *feet*, as the proverb saies they had, then that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas*, wollen *fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, can be content to lye fast in those bands all the year long, 'till the Moneth *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum:* I referre you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. Though I believe they intended no other then a Magicall tye, upon the affection of the party, Yet they seem to have made use of *wooll*, rather then any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of wooll, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules* or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Geniall-bed.* Then the doores of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doores, were bound about with wollen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this μειλιχὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that

* *Theocrit. Pharmaceu.*

* Στίλβαν τὰν καλέουσι φρυκτὸν ἐὶς ἀΰτῳ

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way. but thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the Woemen in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used

uſed they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus [a] *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Iuno* tyed up [b] *Alcmæna's* womb *Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis*. I know not how.

Thus [c] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his Love would have ſcattered his bones in the meale, burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the waxe, or have had him tumble to her doore in the Brazen Bowle, and have kill'd him with kindneſſe. Every one of which practiſes was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moone* for ſucceſſe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day* nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love them, ſuch as [d] *Philoſtratus* ſpeakes of in his *Epiſtles*, τὸ δὲ φυτὸν καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ παρατιθὲν, καὶ οἱ ὀπισθόρμοι ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χεῦσαι πίδαι, καὶ Θᾶλις, καὶ Ἀριστογόρα, καὶ Λαὶς & φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be *Cetuſſa*. Τὸ παρατιθὲν, otherwiſe παραῖον, or παραπετάσιον, *Multicia* or *Bombycina*, a kind of [e] διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body ſo that it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſaies [f] *Martiall*, ſuch Women uſed it

[g] *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name ἀπὸ τῆς Ταρσικῆς χρήσεως καὶ ὑφῆς ſaith [h] *Pollux*. Ἐπιθέματα ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhee in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worne about the wriſts τοὺ καρποὺς: and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger then woollen. but beſides all theſe there was μηλοσόλεον, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple *Cydonium malum* I meane reported to grow in the Garden of *Venus*, and us'd at weddings (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. Thus when *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of [i] *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this Inſcription Μὲ τὸν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμεῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latin

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,

[a] *Ovid. Met. lib 8. fab. 4.*
[b] *Ovid. Met. lib. 9 fab. 5.*
[c] *Theocrit. Pharmac.*
[d] *Lib. 8. E. 68.*
[e] *Pollux.*
[f] *Lib. 8. Epig. 6.*
[g] *Iuvenal Sat. 6.*
[h] *Lib. 7. c. 17. Petulans, madidumq; Tarentum.*
[i] *Ariſtæn. lib. 1. Ep. 10.*

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamq; futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhe tooke, when ſhe did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes* threw back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples: nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough, which made * *Philenis* being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complaine of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The [l] Woemen of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning Woemen at this worke, being able (as he ſaies) μαγεῦσαι ὥστε, ὅσε μὴ σεσὸς ἐτέρων ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρωπον ἀπολίσθο γυναῖκα. &c. And ſo are the Woemen of Egypt (I think the ſexe hath ſtill had the Monopolie of Magick) however the *Egyptian* [m] Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the Potion, for inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her witts, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbes, as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the σατυλίων (rendered *Paſtinaca*) call'd by way of excellency τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν ἐς τὰ κατ' Ἀφροδίτην, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to unwitch the party againe? (for I have heard of ſome that can doe this, who cannot doe the tother) yes, either by taking counter-phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſaies) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*, or elſe by Sacrifices or charmes, according as they imagined the cauſe: whence thoſe words of the * Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

* *Ovid Met. l. 10. fab. 11.*

k *Ariſtæn. lib. 1 ep. 25.*

l *Achil. Tat. l. 5.. Theſſala venalit Philtra. Iuvenal.*

m *Corgias apud Tat. l. 4.*

n *Suetonius.*

* *Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9.*

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Vſitato more ſignificandi amore.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heat (as indeed the Soule is naturally inclined * ὡσπερ αἰδήνεσ, καὶ διαναστῆναι, καὶ μνημονεῦσαι, ὅπως καὶ φιλεῖν to the love of another you will not think what a tender care thoſe Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts, in ſo much, that if you call to mind ſome of their choyſeſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, πόθος ἀκαρπία περὶ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ συνουσίαν γίνων. Not to tell you that ſometimes they *ſent* a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trimme up *their* bodies as they did their *owne* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maide*) or hang up Garlands at their doores (or τὰ ἐξώπια the parts of the houſe expoſed to ſight when the doores were open, ἃ διακόσμων ἕνεκα τῶν παιόντων ſayes *Heſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* ſaies) they intended it chiefly to the honour of Ἔρως. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτι ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο γὰρ ὄντα τὸν οἶκον ναὸν τοῦ ἔρωτος, as making the body of a ſweetheart the Image, and his houſe, the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, τὰ στεφάνια καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπει (ſaies *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples μῆλα ὑποδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſells of meat, ſuch as [c] *Martiall* would have *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as [d] *Ovid* ſpeaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos præguſtaverit ipſe,

* *Plut. in Solon.*

In vitâ Theſ.

[a] *Euſtath. Iſm.*

[b] *L. 15.*

[c] *L. 8. Ep 7.*

[d] *Amor. l. 2. El 4.*

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I muſt tell you St *Hieroms* [e] cenſure, *deguſtatos cibos, blandoſq; ac dulces literulas ſanctius amor non habet*, it ought not to be ſo amongſt you. *Symmachus* upon thoſe words of the *birds* in *Ariſtophanes*, ---- χ᾽ ὅπως ἐρῶσι σὺν ἡμῖν, ſaies they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, ſuch as doves, and the ἀτταγᾶν, and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ἴσως τύχῃ ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this forme ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Gretians* ſignified *amaſium*, a *Womans word* like τῆνος in *Theocritus*,

Ἰυγξ ἴαχε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὶν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν αὐθρῳ. Inſteed whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῦμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployments of the Court, that the κῦμος [a] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ranne ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaies he)

---- ἂν ἴδῃ γέ που γεγραμμένον
Τὸν πυελάμπως ἐν θύρᾳ δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε Κυμὸς Καλὸς.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their Miſtreſſes, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leavs of the trees, according to that of *Callimachus*.

Αλλ᾽ ἴσι δὲ φύλλοισι κεκαμμένα πίσσα φέρεσθε
Γεάμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλήν.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lye,
As my *Cydippe Faire* may ſignifie.

Which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſaies of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐγεγράπτο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὴ πίνδρυς φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυττεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a barke of a tree but what proclaimed *Venus Faire*. How glad

[e] *De vitâ Cleric. ad Nepotian.*

[f] *Diog. Laert. in Diadoro.*

[a] *Vid. p. 118.*

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worne them in their hats as we doe. but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature, for

----- *Inscripti nomina rerum*
Nascuntur flores ----- and an example given them by *Apollo* himselfe, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name, to keep his memory alive when he was dead, not contented with that

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,
Flos habet inscriptum ----- *Lib. Ovid. Met. 10. Fab. 5.*

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one halfe of his name, as the same Author has it.

Littera communis mediis puerοq; virοq;
Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ. *Li. 13. F. 1.*

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unlesse there were written a Κᾶπος καλὸς besides upon the same Flower.

Νῦν Ὑάκινθε λάλᾳ τὰ σὰ γεγράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἰ Αἰ
Ἀμφότερα σοῖς πετάλοισι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μαλικπής.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for Her was sure to be written, for never seem'd *Mistresse* foule, nor *Prison* faire) but for her part if she were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye-brows, she was counted faire indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyssen*, καὶ ὀφρῶν μέλαιναν ὡς ἂν ἐκ χυμένων τῷ ὄμματι, insomuch that *Iul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if she were somewhat bigge of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the Women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ καλλος of a man I know not. It seemes in *Aristotle's* time, it was counted most commendable τὸ ἐχειν τὰς πόνυς χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὰς πρὸς δεῖμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. *Theocr.* But I have talk't too long

long of Love or of *Robin-hood*, that never *ſhot in his bow*. I feare the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a ſubject, and (it may be) give his cenſure that *Oratio eſt vultus animi*. But thoſe that know me will miſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptialls themſelves.

Seneca Ep 115.

** Tacit.*

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſſe the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or [illegible] ὠμραχιζουσα. but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe (*Matura viro* in the words of *Virgil.*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelfe* after the manner of the Latine forme, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνῆστρον or other *in earneſt*: but the Woman ſhe was *deſponſata promiſed* or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the French to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſne,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeemes) though they feared ſhe might breake a promiſe, they thought an *Oath* to be ſtrong enough to *hold* her. For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſſe, they went both into the Temple, and there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀδόλως, and the Woman, ἀνδρὶ πιθήσεσθαι, καὶ μήτινων ἀπορῆσαι δυνήσεσθαι. I doe not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii* as well as *Charitatis*, & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poiſon'd *Sinorix*, (whom ſhe pretended to marry) for killing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loafe in two between them with a ſword, related by [b] Q. *Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a wedding are ſaid [c] to have been invented by *Erato*, they were partly theſe. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would ſay to take her leave of *the* [d] *Virgin*. Beſides this, before ſhe can ceaſe to be of the *herd* of the ἄζυγες * κῆρες, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if ſhe have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calfe never yet *married* in the *yoake*, (and ſo the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her haire beſides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[a] *Alex. ab Al. lex. l.2.c.5.*

[b] *L. 8.*

[c] *Cæl. Rhod. l.7.c.4.*

[d] παρθένος *Minerva ſo called.*

* *Eurip.*

[c] Μόσχοιτε πρὸ γάμων. ἃς σοὶ πρώτᾳ πρώτον χεὶρ
Ἀρτέμιδι.

Eurip. in Iphigen. Aul. verſu 1112.

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Huſband:

[f] Πεπτόλεσα δ' ἢ νὼ παῖδες ἐσφαξας σέθεν;

ibid. v. 711.

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd? But alas poore *Iphigenia*, *ſhe* was not ſo much to *doe* as to *be* a Sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſſe of Aulis*, and be made a calfe her ſelfe: When as *our* Woman, it will ſerve *her* turne to χαιτηρύτην to *Diana* the goddeſſe of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious needle-worke or other with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα— that it might not be taken amiſſe if ſhe married. But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe rites of the χαιτηρύτια, there were others as ſolemne as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtaine the good will of the goddeſſe. The

[g] *Theocr. Id. 27.*

manner

manner of them, and the occaſion, you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certaine Beare growing tame, came and liv'd in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides:* inſomuch that at length a little girle durſt goe ſo farre, and ſo neere as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earneſt and drew her blood for the ſtake, whereupon one of her brothers ſhot the Beare and killed it. preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the Citty, and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every girle in the Citty of *Athens*, ſome time or other between the years of Five and Tenne of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her ſelfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Beare, and therefore a girle thus conſecrated, was her ſelfe called ἄρκτος* the Beare, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Beare* (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maide) and ſometimes δεκατεύειν, becauſe commonly they deferred it till the laſt yeare, as *ſhe* did in [a] *Luſiſtrate*.

* Harpocr.

Εἶτ' ἀλετεὶς 'ν δεκέτης
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχηγέτις
Καταχέουσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

a *Ariſtoph.*

'Εν Βραυρωνίοις, ſhe ſaies, becauſe it was to be done in the feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who is [a] reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias* (*in Atticis*) ſaies, that Image of hers, which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet after all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not have been ſo Scrupulous of diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for a warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore call'd by the name of διφυὴς, ſaith [c] *Euſtathius:* or elſe, (according to the Scholiaſt upon [d] *Ariſtophanes*)

a *Athen l.6.*

b *Pauſan. in Arcad.*

c *Ad Odiſſ. Σ.*

d *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc.3.*

ſtophanes [d]) *quaſi* χρῆν δ' ἐρῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τῆς τε πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and a Mother (as to *knowledge*, and in the way of a *certaine* couple) or rather (if you will) the natures of a Father and a *Sonne*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Sonne, nor the Sonne by the Father: But ſome againe ſay he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the upper part, of a man, and in the lower, of a Dragon, as *he* ſaies (in *Veſpis*)

Ὦ κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τὰ μὲν ποθῶν δ' ἐχιοντοῦμαι.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Lawes which he made, whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*, in the ſence that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turn'd into men, and the trees into lovers of Muſick. of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt which likes [e] *Rhodiginus*, who ſaies he was call'd by this name, becauſe the *children* did now *appeare* to be ἀμφιτῆς, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονομητῆς, the Sons of a *Mother* only, nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nuriing to Beares and Wolves and the like. but enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet, ſhe muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *paſt*, and in ſpeciall manner to *Juno* Γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as *he* in [a] *Plautus* calls her) for the *future*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty* in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἕτερον &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Iuno* went under the ſeverall names of τελείαι, τελεῖα, and τελεῖα δ' ἀνὰ, ἡμιτέλεια, and γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ, indeed the two

[e] *Lib. 6. 25.*

[a] *In Amphitr. Act. 2. Sc. 2.*

[b] *L. 1. c. 4.*

 firſt

first are sometimes the same that ὑποδόλια, the gifts sent before the wedding; and the word προτέλεια, is used also sometimes in relation to others, as well as to *Iuno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited, and therefore in another [c] place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptiall pompe, thus speaking.

[c] *V. 433.*

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὼ νεανίδε
Αὐλίδος ἀπάνευ πῶς νιν ἄξειθ' πότε;

And so sometimes to the [d] *Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to *spinne* out their lives to the longest. But yet *Iuno* (I think) was in a great deale more request among lovers then any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouthes, for among the *Latins*, when they would expresse themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to eall one another by the name of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet * by the name of *Iuno*.

[d] *Iul Poll. l. 3. c. 3.*

* *Plaut. in Casina Act. 1. Sc. 3.*

Eia mea Iuno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Iovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἥρα τελεία (as there is also Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) must be so said either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσσίδικος was for γαμικὸς) from whence comes τέλεον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτέλλειν to initiate; or from τέλειος *adultus*, as if only such as were of age, (& ὡς βίῳ τελείῳ) * might be suffered to have the *happinesse* to marry. now *Iuno adulta* and *Iupiter adultus*, were the more religiously worshipped at such a time ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (saies *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanes*, and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deale of *cry* about *Sacrifices*, but you'l say the *Wooll* is to come: only some σπονδαὶ there must be, least any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of *them*. The gift

* *Aristotle.*

called

gift called by *Demoſthenes* Γαμηλία, was that which they ſent to the φράτορες for the making of a feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gifts of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptialls, they called ἕδνα, (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a wooing) but the ἕδνιος χιτὼν was a garment beſtowed upon the Husband by the Wife,(giving of apparrell was very uſuall once, both with the *Iew* * and the *Gentile*)and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if ſhe *gave a cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*, for if ſhe *brought* her φόρνας ſhe had her ἐπιφόρια to *carry* away: nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelfe. for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus farre, ſhe might beare the blame of the proverbe, *femme qui donne s' abandonne, ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten.* The petty gifts *then* given by the Parnts they called μείλια, as ἐπιμείλια were thoſe which were given *after* the Wedding. The Dowry beſtowed upon her by her Father at the firſt, πρόξ, that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροξις. (thus ſome have thought good to diſtinguiſh, and look their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too *free* of their diſtinctions) At her firſt bringing to her Husband, ſhe had beſtowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was alſo the name of the day it ſelfe) otherwiſe called ἀναφορεῖα, ὀπτήρια, ἀνθήματα and περιφορητήρια, and all for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* becauſe thoſe gifts were given *ut illa patereturſe videri*, ſaies* *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayle, and be ſeen. In ſuch a way *Iupiter* is reported to have beſtowed upon *Proſerpina* the City of *Thebes*, according to thoſe verſes of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Phœniſſis*.

* *Geneſ.c* 24. *v.*51.

* *Var. Lect. l.*25.*c.*3.

Τῆς ῥά ποτε περὶδης δῶρον πόρε πρόσθονοίη
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτον μὲ ὀπωπόσαν ἔιλλε
Νυμφιδίῃ σαπέρῃσι φιδακλίνοισι κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον ſaies he, or καλύπτρην according to *I. Pollux:* for although

though she might *now* shew her face, and be modest too, yet before she stood behinde a red vayle or hood, with which she *hid* her selfe, and so deserved the name of עטופה, if it were for nothing else * but for that. This *Luteous* vayle is otherwaies called ἐαν̀ὸς, in Latine *Flammeum*, [a] in Hebrew צעיף, such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her Husband, Gen.24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing c.38.19. The reason why *they* were not *unvayled* till they came to be *coveri Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by [b] *Carl. Rhodiginus*) deliver'd *vayld* under these worde ὅτι τὰς μὲ κόρας αἰδεῖσθαι δεῖν, τὰς δ' γυναῖκας σώζειν τοὺ ἔχοντας. the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very neere *ayme*, when I say, *Aucta fuga forma est* ----

(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnus*,

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρουσι καλυπτομένοιο θεωρεῖν

Men long to see a face that's hid the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀναγαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐπικαλυπτήρια μᾶλλον ἂν ποιοῦτο λαμβάνων, I had more need give her somewhat to let her vayle alone, unlesse she were better then she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were, (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of [a] *Iphigenia* as she was going to be Married Γᾶμ' ἢ λεπαδν̀ ὄμμα διὰ κεκαλυμμάτων Ἔχουσ' ---) then I must tell you they were so thinne, that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers thorow *them*.

[b] Ὃς μὲ χλοερὰ
Δρεπομέναν ἴουν πέπλων

* See another reason in Prov. c.3.v. 19.

a *Iuven. Sat.2.*

b *L.13.c.6.*

a *In Aul. v. 372.*

b *Eurip. Hel. v.150.*

Ῥόδια

Ῥόδια πίτυλα ---

But this may be eaſily anſwered, for as (you know) a *mountaine* that is a farre of, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, ſo againe, one man is able to ſee *another* plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelfe*. and ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carried from her παρθενῶν Chamber, to her Husband in a Coach (or ſome ſuch kind of thing) but the poore Girle in the Poet* (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could terme it little better then being *ferried* in *Charon's* boat. *Id. in Troad. v.370. &c.*

Ἄδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦῶ ἆρ', οὐχ ὁ πλέως
Ὃν μοι προσεῖπας πόσιν· ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχεις
Ἐς αἱμάτεον γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλῳ.
To *Pluto* not to *Peleus'* ſonne
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptialls
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he ſaies he had done this office for *Helen* himſelfe.

Λαμπάδων * μιγνύμεσθ' ἅς ἦ πατὴρ ἔρις *Id. in Hel. v.728.*
Ἵππιος ἐλαύνων πωλόφερνον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροις
Σὺν τῷ ἦ νύμφη δόμ' ἔλιπες ὄλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with ſo much Greeke, becauſe it explaines the cuſtome ſo fully) The ſong which they ſung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as ſoone as they came to the Bride-groomes doore, *ut ſignarent illam ibi perpetuò manſuram, neq; inde ullâ tempeſtate* receſſuram. juſt as William the Conquerour burnt his ſhips at *Pevenſey*, that ſo his Souldiers ſeeing their returne to be deſperate, might Fight the more *deſperately* (as we uſe to ſay, or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφεύτης, or ἑστιάτωρ that *Alex. ab Alex.

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by her ſide in the *ſame* Coach, or elſe went along by her *Coaches* ſide in *another*, and was therefore called πάρεδρος, from ἕδρος; unleſſe that ſhe were either willing, or conſtrain'd to *foot* it, for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This cuſtome for the Husband to *lead* his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond* marriage, for then (ſaies [a] *Euſtathius*) ὁ δίμοιρος (ὁ νυμφευόμενος ſaies [b] *Pollux*) ἢ νυμφίον μανθάνει, he might not doe it him ſelfe, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφαγωγός, or the *Bride-man*, and ſome of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vayle, and dreſſe, and undreſſe, and doe other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *ornaments* were precious ſtones and jewels, eſpecially about her head, ſuch as [a] *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

[a] *In Homeri Il. β.*

[b] *L. 3. c. 3.*

[a] *Eurip. Androm. v. 147.*

Κοσμεῖν μὲ ἀμφὶ κεφαλὴ χρυσέαις χλιδαῖς.

Her *Wedding-garment* all of purple, ſave in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where elſe) ἔνθα γὰρ ἄλλαις ἐδῆσαν ἡ χλαῖνα ἡ πορφύρεος, ἐκεῖ χρυσὸς ἦν; and there it was gold: which agrees very well with that of *Heſiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Οὔπω ἔργ' ἐπίδοι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this cuſtome to interpret τὸν πορφύρεον ἡ παρθενίαν (in [b] *Euſtathius*) in another ſenſe then others have done. When ſhe came to the houſe, ſhe found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obſita*, ſaies [c] *Apuleius*: it ſeems they tarried not till * *Juvenall's* time

[b] *Iſm. l. 10.*

[c] *L. 3. Met.*

* *Sat. 9.*

—— *Foribus ſuſpende Coronas*
Iam pater es ——

Neither was it any whit ſtrange to her to ſee thoſe ornaments upon the *Houſe*, for ſhe her

her ſelfe had the ſame, according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles*.

d Σοὶ κατασ[illegible]φασ' ὀχὸς νιν ὧν ὡς γαμεμένην.

And (I think) her Husband too, μητὲ στεφανώσης, μητὲ στεφάνης αἴθε νυμφίον, ſaies e *Libanius*, ſpeaking to the Father, whoſe work it was to trimme the Husband, as it was the Mothers to adorne the Wife. That cuſtome of adorning the *Houſe* with Garlands, was very much in uſe among the Romans too, and as much deteſted by the Chriſtians, *Chriſtianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, ſaies f *Tertullian*. Thoſe Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, conſecrated to *Venus*, and ſo they made them in *Italy*; or of *Aſparagus*, and ſo they made them in *Bœotia*; or elſe of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and μήκων, and ſo they made them at *Athens*: Σήσαμα γὰρ καὶ μήκωνας καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανοῦσι τοὺς γαμοῦντας ſaies the a Scholiaſt: the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plurall number. the *Garland* made of *Seſamum* leaves had the name of Σησαμῆ, or Σησαμίς, but the *Cake* which they made of the *graine* was called Σησαμῦς, for Cakes they uſually beſtow'd upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* ſaies in the * Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται, Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάσει.

And made they were of *Seſamum* rather then any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (ſaies the *Scholiaſt*) as if it were the herbe *Polygonum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the cuſtome of kembing her haire with a Speare (ſuch as had been kept by a Fencer with the loſſe of his life) were in uſe among the *Grecian* Women too (as b ſome ſay it was) I cannot determine. but amoug the *Romans* it was, and they called ſuch a Spear *haſtam cælibarem*: the reaſon why the Woman made uſe of ſuch a combe, or made this uſe of a Speare, is thought to be, either *quaſi fortes eâ de cauſâ viros ſe genituram ominetur*, or *quod ſponſi diſciplinæ ſe ſubditam fateatur*. As the Woman went forth of her *Fa-*

d *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 705.*
e *Declam. 39.*
f *De Coron. milit. c. 13.*
a *Vpon Ariſtoph. in Pace.*
* *Ariſtoph. Pac.*
b *Alex ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

thers

thers houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of Election, to pretend a conſtraint: you ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe.* As ſhe entred into her Husband's, the [a] Boyes, and Maides fell a throwing of Figgs, and junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraide him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſſe*, ἐυσπείας σημεῖον, (ſaies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtome once in faſhion with ſome of *Us*, *viz.* upon *Twelfe eve* (as they call'd it) to put a part of their toſted *Beane-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry Whatſayle, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull yeare. The trumpery thus thrown or *powred* out, they called καταχύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comedy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon *him*, and ſo to give him the *Joy* for his new-bought eyes: ſaies Shee

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

----- κομίσω καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνύμοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the *Scholiaſt* notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new Servant, at his firſt coming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κόλυβα, ἰσχάδας, φοίνικας, Junkets, and Figgs, and Palme branches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets, but this I think was done, not onely as *he* ſaies, ὡς ἐυσπείας σημεῖον, to make it an *Omen* of fruitfulueſſe (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was throwne, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) doe the *Freſh-mans-gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſſe and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice,

[a] *Cæl. Rhod. l.28.c.21.*

it

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happened to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*, for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of [c] *Agamemnon*, who, when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding-cheere*, very religiously made answer yes,

[b] *Ach. Tat. l. 2.*

[c] *Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.*

Θύσας γε σύμαδ' ἅπερ ἔχλω θύσαι θεοῖς.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Lycippe*, and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more speciall manner to *Iupiter* Ὁμογνίῳ, and *Iuno* Συζυγία, if it may appeare by that of *Libanius*. τὰ παῖδες ἐπῄρησι, ἀγὼ ὁμόγνιον δία, κ' Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐπήμησι πρέπειν. By reason of this and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to disturbe the businesse never so little, or to offer any incivility to either of the parties, especially to the Wife, as for instance. One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Photius Codice.* 208.) being accused of bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summond him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, κ' γνόντες ὡς εἰη πεδυκὼς γυνὶ γάμοις, ἀφέντες τ' ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν· ἐ γὰ ὠήθησαν ἂν ἔχειν ἐπισκήπτειν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as soone as they saw but the *signes* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the doore) and were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, because they would not rush uncivilly in upon the new-Married-Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned presently back againe, and the Court was contented with the *newes*. So likewise in the Warres with King *Philip*, having intercepted severall Letters of his to his friends, and among the rest

[d] *Libanius declam. 35.*

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*; when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cryd out μὴτι λέγειν, μήτι ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up: [a] Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἃ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλεῖ ἀπόῤῥητον οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐνόμισεν δημοσίᾳ ἀκροᾶσθαι εἶναι, because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their *gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deale of good cheere, the Man and the Wife were alwaies noted [a] for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thornes, and boughs of Acornes, singing as he went [b] Ἕφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (for they) *have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better.* If he spake in the person of the Man, he ment that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; & so it is not so bad as *Out of the frying pan into the fire*; (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of the feeling of her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and sixpence, hath some losse by the mony.* The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖον, by turnes; and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) [c] Ὑμὴν, ὦ Ὑμεναὲ ὦ Ὑμὴν, imitated by him in *Plautus*

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankefull commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometime sav'd the Maides of Athens from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a *sorrowfull commiseration* of another, that happend to be kill'd by the fall of a house the very day that he Married. What ever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distast, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies,

a *Phocius ib.*

a *Athenæus l. 9.*

b *Zenobius.*

c *Aristoph. in Avib.*

Quid

Quid ſi etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep ſuch a noyſe in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as ſoon as ever ſhe was out of her Fathers houſe

Ὅταν ξυὸ δ' μεγαίοιιν ἐξάγῃ χόρλω.

ſaies *Clytemneſtra*, [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the ſame place.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the faſhion in Greece to ſet the Woman firſt in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I miſtake not) *Lactantius* ha's ſomewhat of ſuch a thing, and I might ſpeak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the Woman was ledd into the Chamber, ἢ δάλαμον or ἢ παστάδα) to ſhew whereto ſhe muſt, there was a five carried along with her, and a peſtle hung up at the doore, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας, as *I. Pollux* ſaies) or to ſignifie that hereafter ſhe muſt learne to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in firſt, as the faſhion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince-aple* and eate it between them, ὅπ δεῖ τὰς νύμφας σύμβολον, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν ἐυάρμοσον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ἁδὺν, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to ſignify the pleaſantneſſe, and harmony which ſhould be in their talke at firſt. And yet notwithſtanding, now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and ſcold (*grave cornicaretur* forſooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at leaſt) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελίξιον δῶμα, or γάμον ἀτελῆ, becauſe by this means

[a] *Conjux miſeranda Cayco*
Linquitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

δῶμα I ſaid, or (if you will ὑποκοριζόμενος ſpeake a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times uſed by it ſelfe for θάλαμος, as it ſeems to be by *Plato* in his third booke *de Republ.* ſpeaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ὅπως ἐκπλαγέντα ἐδύνατο ἢ ἤθελεν, ὥστε μη-

a *In Caſinâ Act. 4. Sc. 3.*

b *Eurip. Iphig in A. v. 693.*

a *Valer. Flacc.*

δ' εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτῆ βυλόμενον χαμαὶ συγ-
b ἐργ. l. 2. γενές: and yet I thinke, b *Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be understood of any other businesse left *Rough-hewn, unpolish'd*, or not *done over* againe, when he saies

Μηδ' ἄρμον ποιῶν αὐτόπτυκτον καταλείπειν
Μήποτ' ἐρεχόμενη κρώζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

c *Apud. Eustath. l. 5.* c *Ismenias* applies it indeed to our purpose. but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boyes to cry Κόρη ἐκκέρι κορώνιλλα, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had bin set to keep off the Rookes from the corne, κορώνιλλα (I say) and not κορώναι in the *Plurall* number, for herein the *Scholy* upon *Pindar* is suppos'd to have mistaken; because neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky, unlesse it came in the *singular* number, and then the birds being *singled* and divided one from the other, could not possibly be a good signe, to those that were to be *coupled*, and joyned together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for very *good lucky birds* (as we use to say) let them come how they will, either because they are πολύζωοι longliv'd (as *Homer* calls them) or because *ea cornicum societas est* (saies a one) *ut ex duabus Sociis alterâ extinctâ vidua altera perpetuò maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, *viz.* Καινὴν χαμεύνην, & καίνην παστάδα, or a *side-bed* for a change or ὑπὲρ τὸ τιὸ παστάδα ἀδυμῆσαι, saith *Hesychius*, if the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would terme the bed κυείδιον λέχος, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so κυείδιον * δῶμα for the house, and κυειδία for the Wife. Before the Woman could lye withe Man she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νυμφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*.

a *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

* *Homer.*

Στρ: Εἰ ῥίμμα τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λοῦτρον παρέζω.
Χορ: Ἐμοὶ σὺ λοῦτρον ὦ σαπερδᾶ. Στ. ἢ ταῦτα νυμφεύσιμα.

And *in Pace*, you have *Trygeus* when he intended to marry

Opora

Opora, giving order to his ſervant, as ſoone as he had brought her to his houſe, firſt to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' ἴσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
Καὶ τὸν πύελον κατάκλυζε, κἀθέρμανον ὕδωρ,
Στέφιυξόμου κἀγὼ τὴν κυσίδιον λέχος.

This water at firſt was fetcht as farre as from *Callirhoe-well*; ἐκ δὲ καλλιρρόης, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ δὲ ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης, *but afterward* (ſaies [a] *Pollux*) *from Enneacrounos*, which was ſo called because it had nine ſeverall κρουνοὺς or *fiſtulas*, or *ſalientes*, where the water *ſtrung* up, and ſo you might allow one for every Muſe in the City. but what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two diſtinct *names* of the ſame? Well, the one expreſſing what *faire Water* it was, or how *well* and cleare it ranne, and the other in how many *places*, for it may very well be thought ſo by that verſe of [b] *Statius*.

[a] L.3.c.3.

Et quos Callirhoe nouis errantibus undis
Implicat ----

[b] *Theb.*12.

Nay, *Thucidides* ſaies poſitively they were the ſame, only that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was uſuall when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. which if it be ſo, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ δὲ Καλλιρρόης, εἶτ' αὖθις δὲ ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης. from *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The Woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this Water, was commonly called the Λυσφόρος. When the Wife was ready to undreſſe, her Mother took her haire-lace, and winding it about one of the torches (for *they* had δᾴδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her haire with a new. the *Mother* I ſaid, for *ſhe* commonly would δαδουχεῖν, carry the torches or *hold the Candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* uſed to doe.

---- *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu

Ornavit ædes, nec suâ lætas faces
Vittâ revinxit ----- saies * *Iocasta*

* *Senec. Theb.*

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd, whether it were *Corylus* commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*, or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans. and so likewise for their number, whether the custome were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Iupiter Adultus*, *Iuno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, and *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to discover: a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture that there was a certain number required, otherwise, why should the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complaine so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not ἔτι λύχνῳ τὸν νύμφιον ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. but for the bearer, that it was usually the Mother, will appeare by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the* Poet; for when her Husband bid her goe back again to *Argos*, and leave her Daughter with him, shee ask'd him

[a] *Declam.* 37.

* *Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v.* 734

---- τίς δ' ἀναχθεῖ φλόγα, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοῖς χρέσθαι, that he meant to doe it himselfe, nay, quoth she οὐ χ' ὑμῖν νόμος τόδ' οὐδ' ὑμῖν πάρα, that was never the custome, neither doe you your selfe think it to be handsome and fitting. And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd, for it seems to have been reckon'd not so much the *office* and the *charge*, as the *Priviledge* and the honour of the Grecian Women, and therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to be debarr'd the bearing of the Torches at the Wedding, O my deare children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before

[a] *Eurip Med. v.* 1025.

[a] Πρὶν λέκτρα, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ γαμηλίους
Εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀναζέσθαι.

Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, for because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίους ἀνῆψον. I lighted the Torches saies he in * *Libanius*. but this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might doe it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's*) upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲ λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὤμυν παρασέξειν (not only ὠαγαγεῖν) πῶς ἠδίσης ἢ ταῖς παρθένοις: I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the Woman (whether because she had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and so deliver'd her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus us'd, certainly the People there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife. The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untyed by her Husband in the bed, ζώνη δὲ λύε ὁ κέστος ὃν ἔδυσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὃς ἂν ἄλυσῃ πρὶν αὖ ἀπὸ παρθένοις γένοιντο, saies the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*. certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worshipped she was then, as well as at any other time, but atwhich of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this, or whether it were tyed and untyed againe, or whether one knot were vntyed at first time, and another at the second ther's the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes) indeed that there was a Zona untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be prov'd by those words of *Alcestis*

* *Decl* 35.

* *Deutr.* 21. v. 12.

Ὦ λέκτρον, ὅνδε παρθένου ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κεφάλματ' ἐκ σοῦ δ' αὖθις ——

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of Child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculaneus*

ἥνυσε νόδυς formerly mention'd; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger ty'd; as to his happineſſe in making of Children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maides (whom we may call the *Children of the Bride-groome*) ſtood at the Chamber doore, and ſung their ἐπιθαλάμια, or γαμήλια, with as great a noyſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παρθένος διαζευχθῇ, ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούσῃ, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her *time*, the might not be heard: which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the Brides friends, whom they called the παρωχὸς, uſually did him that good office to ſtand Sentinell at the doore, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorc'd* from his *friends*; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the *Women*, (called Θεσμοφόρια by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the ἑταῖροι, as his Father in Law had done before him: this making of Feaſts at Weddings, was properly called δαῖτα τοῦ γάμου, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. *c.* 3.

Iphig. in Aul. v. 707. *&* 720.

Κἄπειτα δαῖτες τοῦ γάμου ----

And a little before.

Ἑταῖραι δ' ἔδαισαν πλέω γάμους θεοῦ.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work, for *they* alſo kept a feaſt of purpoſe for the Women beſides, and therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ὀρίλλα τῇ γυναικὶ δώσομεν.

The ſaying, *aujourd huy mariè, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them for the day after the Wedding, the mirth ranne as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloaths and all sorts of Housholdstuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restraine the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed they called ἀπαύλια, (as those which I presented you before were called ἐπαύλια) and sometimes ἀναστήνια, as being that which (to speake in *Iuvenal's* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur ---- and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*, but so with the vengeance as she made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

Πέμψω [a] χθ αὐτοῦ δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐς χερῶν — [a] Eurip. Med. v 784.
Νύμφῃ φέροντας &c.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing θεραύλια for the first, ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλιστρὶς was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and ἐπαύλια for the third. — *I. Pollux* l. 3. c. 3.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optime ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *yeare*, which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *nefastous* times and daies) was the first Moneth of the Winter (clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring. but though they *chalked* but one part of the yeare, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Mense malas Maii nubere*-- — [a] Ovid. l. 5. *Fast.*

b *Quæſt. Rom.* 8.6. it may be *malum* by b *Plutarchs* conſent, The beſt day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone, that they might be *brought to bed* (as we ſay) the ſooner, and grow the fuller themſelves, but the beſt part of the day was the laſt, or the next to the night, and ſo they might goe to bed the ſooner. juſt at theſe ſeaſons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in thoſe words of hers (and the Poets)

* *Iſthm. H.*

---- ἐν δηχμηνίδι αη
Δὲ ἐσπέρας ἑρατὸν
Λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑ-
-φ' ἥρωι παρθενίας.

But I make no queſtion (as exact as they were in *Marrying*, many of them had the fortune to be *borne* ἐυτετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had. beſides,* *Heſiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μηνὸς ἑξαμέρου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *oſcinous* bird did *obſcævare* or *oceinere*, or ſing another ſong to the contrary.

* *Ἔργ.* l. 3.

Ἐν δ' τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγινέμεν εἰς ὄικον ἄκοιτιν
Ὀιωνοὺς κείνας δὲ ἐπ' ἔργμασι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.

Whereas the ἕκτη μίνη (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgement all as bad againe eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather encline to the judgement of the Goddeſſe eſpecially having a Agamemnon too (a *man*) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd --- πῆι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made anſwer.

a *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul.* 717.

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.

When that bleſs'd ſeaſon of Full-Moon ſhall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous, as to think a Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *Full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unſuitable with

with the mirth of a Wedding, and ſo were all Holy-daies whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare eſt: ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* to whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-dayes to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they cal'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtriduani dies*, that is, the firſt daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri* were not to admit of any Sacrifice. now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not doe, if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widow* might be ſuffer'd to Marry upon a Holy-day (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon, but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. beſides having of *non licet* daies, they had a cuſtome to Marry only upon ſuch a day as by the judgement of the Aſtrologer (to whom they ſought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet.* But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the *time* of Marrying, I proceed to ſpeak of the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[b] *L. 1. Sat. c. 15.*

Apul.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was, both his goods and he too were ſold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he muſt be no leſſe then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*, and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder, but according to [a] *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

[a] *Polit. l. 7.*

Μήτε γεμικόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ὑπολείπων

Μήτ'

Μήτ' ἐπιδεὶς μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole daughter and Heire (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ἐπιβαμιτίδα or πατροῦχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. but then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſines with him, and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις, the queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Laſtly he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not be ſo upon paine of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Cittizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτ' ἐυδοκιμέιδω μήτε μετεχέτω λόγυ ὅδε τῆς πολίτιας ὁ πεισὶν αὐτῆ μιᾶ γαμέτ' ἐπάγων, *whoſoever ſhall ſuper-inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, &c. Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Step-dame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſence, by way of a *dilemma*: you ſhall have his words as I found them in [a] *Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων &c. ſaies he, Ἔτ' ἐπιτυχὼς μὲν γᾶμας τὸ θεῖτερον, ἐυμερῶν κατάπαυσον, εἰ δ' ἐκ ἐπέτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πλέονας δυ'ῖρεις λαβεῖν πάλιν. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ἐυ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πταίσμασιν ἁμαρτάνειν ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhouldſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou hadſt not, thou art little better then a Foole or a Mad-man, to ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone.*

b *Il. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.*

a *Menemaſiæ Archiepiſc.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoake*, for otherwise the Marriage was counted συνουσία rather then γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) ἀνδρὶ ἑῷ γαμετὴν --- if she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand δεκχμαὶ to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let downe* by Pericles his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be sixe and twenty years of age, and yet Aristotle even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen, out of indulgence to the Sexe surely, for else he thinkes it very unfitting they should marry so young. both because ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make so much hast, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. but then there is *another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he. b L.7.c.16. *Hesiod.Oper.

Ἡ δ' γυνὴ πέπρ' ἠβώη, πέμπτῳ γαμοῖτο.

And [a] another sooner yet (if I doe not mistake)

Ἐσθὴ δ' ὅτις ἥβλω ἅλιον, ὡς ἐγὼ γάμον. a *Eurip.in Hel.v.12.*

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.

Thirdly she must be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine (whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum* for the present occa- b *L.13.*

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best*. and what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? for I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandsome man: but * others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water γάμος, ἀπὸ τοῦ νέμω τὴν οὐσίαν. unlesse you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* her selfe, though she were *superinducta* over *Andromache's* head did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

* *Rhod. Patritius.*

---- [a] ὑδὲ χθ πολλὰν
δίοιν γυναικῶν αἰδρ' ἔν' ἠρίαι ἔχειν.

a Eurip. *Androm.* v. 177.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονον τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλιστ' ἀεί.

Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been, not only by her own example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*, but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greekes, especially in the Country of [b] *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then [a] --- *partu retinere maritos*. thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the tother.

b Eurip. *ib.*

a Iuven. *Sat.* 2.

--- συγγῆμι δ' αἰδεῖ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νοσοῦς δ' ἀκούων διὰ σὲ μεν δείλυ).

When such courses as these are taken

Turgida

b *Turgida non prodeſt conditâ pyxide Lyde,* Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will doe any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the Husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Aemilius Probus* (whether in its *germane ſence* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* this act of *Cimons Athenæus* thinks to have been done ἀνάνδρως, contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way, but *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publike manner not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, συνὼν, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνοίκα, but σὺν οἴκῳ, taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawfull cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a *Husband* fit for her condition. but for all this, I doe not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous.*

b *Iuven.* ib.

c *L.* 18.

---- παῖς πιμπτὸν μίγνυ
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ----

When Sonne is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintaine the goodneſſe of the practiſe *then*, by the greatneſſe of the Perſons that uſed it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fiftly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine, for ſuch I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once ſaid poore *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* a λύκτρων σκῦτα νεμφθήσεται, and the children little better then Σκότοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*:

a *Eurip. in Troad. v.* 251.

As

As for her Portion or Eſtate, ſhee was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Eſtate, or ἀπάτορικος that had a Brother, and no more then her part or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion, inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have the προικῶα, *the Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐνέχυρόν τι ἀποτιμᾶν, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe of Land in exchange, and this they call'd [a] ἀποτίμημα.

a *Harpocr.*

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part) or elſe, if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος, ſhe might goe *to another*, unleſſe he were able to excuſe himſelfe by a lawfull impediment, ſuch as coming from Funeralls is accounted by [b] *Heſiod* in thoſe words of his

b *L. 2.*

Μήδ' ὑπὸ δυσφήμοιο πάρα ἀπονοσφίσσαιτο
Σεμνὰ γυναικὸς γενεὴν.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſſe of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable then other, and ſome fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the ſame Poet, ſpeaking of the ſixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδράσι μὲν γὰρ ἄριστος, κούρῃ δ' ὐ σύμφορός ἐστι.

And a little after of two other daies.

Ἐσθλὴ δ' αὖ δείνυται ἑκάτῃ, κούρῃ δέπι τοι γε.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the gods, be the time what it were, it could never be lucky for either, and

and therefore at ſuch times they uſed (as well as the Iſraelites) to abſtaine altogether, or ἀγρῶς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poet cal'd it in *Aſinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἔπικληρος were overlay'd, or any way abus'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a Writ ἀπ' ἀκλείας ἢ ἐπικλήρου, otherwiſe called ἀπαγγελίαν, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείψιν: where as if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμψιν, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company never the leſſe. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave* or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much deteſted among the Grecians, inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pigge in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. but ἀπολείψιν, for the Woman to ſeparate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe then ἀποπέμψιν, even flat Rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beſt. heare but what [b] *Medea* ſaies of it

[a] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Equit.*

---- ἃ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Τυραννίδι, δι' ὅ ἐστ' ἀνήνατος πόσει.

[b] *Eurip. Med. v. 236.*

Where ſhee puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Woman, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poore *Wife* if ſhe be well us'd, 'tis true, ζηλωτὸς αἰὼν -- *no life like hers*-- εἰ δὲ μὴ -- *but if ill* -- θανεῖν χρεὼν *there is no remedy but death*, or *ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all, and what a diſparagement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, [a] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though ſhe were dead.

[a] *In Alceſt. v. 464.*

Εἴ ϑ' ὅπ χαιρὸν ἔλοιπο πόσις λέχος
Ἢ μάλ' ὅμοι γ' ἂν εἶπ συγηδεῖς.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*, who deputed other judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition that ſhe engage her ſelfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands houſe againe: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ ἀπ' ϑεμιτὸς ἀπτυ, or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detain'd the mony.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſceleragogiâ, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckond it ſufficient cauſe to complaine, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not: ſuch abuſes as this were many times offered: I doe not ſtand ſo much upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complaind of that imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of Water upon their heads, which the poore old Maide in the [b] Poet, might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition.

[a] *Apud Eurip. Troad. v. 493.*

[b] *Id. in Electr. v. 55.*

----- τὸ δ' ἄγγος τῷ δ' ὑδρεύσασϑαι κόρᾳ
φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίους ματέρχομαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying Water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too; for [c] *Ovid* ſaies of the Veſtall Virgin her ſelfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when ſhe went to fetch Water, and ſlept away her Maidenhead

[c] *L.3. Faſt.*

head, a good caveat for all ſleepy Servants)

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the Men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they doe with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poet ſaies of *Vlyſſes* his Marriners, when they took in freſh Water in *Sicily*.

---- ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέν
Τὰ μὲν φέρον τες κεναὶ βοὸς ἀσκὸς ἀσκήμενοι
Κρώσσας δ' ὑδρηλὰς ----

Now whereas I mentiond only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other ſide, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beſeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or ſo much as to know what was done there, τῷ μὲν δὸς αὐδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πεπόυνα εἰδέναι, ἀνρεπὲς. it is *Ariſtotles* own *Oeconomicks*, at leaſt χρὴ δὲ πάντων, though not χρὴ δὲ λέξιν (to uſe the words of *Tuſanus* ſometime profeſſor at *Paris*, who tranſlated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being loſt, and only a Latine tranſlation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reaſon you will ſay, there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that muſt keep ſo cloſe at home, & yet *travell* too: which cloſe confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wifes condition. *If any thing grieve her* (ſaies he) *ſhe has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then μίαν ψυχὴν, her own poore ſoule: and whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part,* ſaies ſhe

---- [a] τρὶς αὖ παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἂν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
---- Three times to beare a ſhield
Thrice better doe it think, then once to beare a child.

[a] *Eurip. in Med. v.* 244. to 251.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife; my Father, saies she, sent me hither in a liberall manner.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153.

[a] Πολλοῖς σοῦ ἔδνοις, ὡς ἐλευθερωσόμην.

With many a good thing, that having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. only you that brought nothing with you, must goe to doores, and she that cannot pay, must sure to pray. this argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward *bandy'd* back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. *for*, saies she, *he did not take you as a Captive*, or so, *but* [b] σοὶ πολλοῖς ἔδνοισι *he had something with you.*

b Ib. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome & neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electra's* own words

c Eurip. Elect. v. 75.

--- [c] τὰν δ' ἔμοις δ' ὑμᾶς χρεὼν
Ἐξυφαντρίδ' εἶναι, εἰσίοντ' δ' ἐργάτη &c.

d l. Poll. l. 7. c. 10.

Or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at [d] ξαντικὴ the tazing, shall I say or the carding of the Wooll? or στημονικὴ, when they went to spinne out the στήμων or *stamen*, and διάζωξ (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at ὑφαντικὴ, the Weaving and joyning the στήμονες together, with the help of the κέρκις, (the *pecten* or the sley like a comb) and the ἄγνυθες, or the λεῖα, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently [a] standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine work

a Servi ad Aen. 8.

work *recta* as the Latines cal'd it, downe *right* with one thred a croſſe and no more; for there was ποικιλτικὴ too, and a great deale of variety in ſome workes, as well as ſeverall ſorts of workes in the trade; which was the cauſe why [b] *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creuſa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what ſort of making it was. [b] *V.* 1419.

Ποῖόντι πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unleſſe you will confine this ποίκιλσις to the Virgins (as you may ſeem to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) & the Wives & Mothers (or their Servants for them) to the plainer worke, as it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſaies *Feſtus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but plaine Cloaths, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to plaine dealing. And ſeeing Weaving was a worke ſo well beſeeming the better ſort (as appears in *Creuſa* the daughter of no worſe man then *Erechtheus* a King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra* if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe.

Αὐτὴ μ' ἐμοχθίσσα χερσὶν πέπλους.

that ſhe was kept to Weaving, for (it may be) her complaint was rather that ſhe could not be her own Woman, and Weave for her ſelfe, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cooks ſhop. I muſt tell her thus much from [a] *Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχρύσιος παρθένος) that or any worke elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe, for ſaies he in ſuch a caſe, ποῖς ὀπάσοις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀσχολίαν, the muſt be forc'd to doe things her ſelfe for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. [a] *Polit. l.6. c.* 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Oecuria.

NOW the Wives beſides their γυναικωνίτης, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνας) had their b θάλαμον ἐσῶν too to work in, as th[illegible] virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I feare me, *vuides chambres font dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b *I.Poll.l.1. c.8.*

c Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶ[illegible] κόρας.

c *Eurip.Iph.g. in Aul.v.737.*

That Maids *at home* ſhud not be left alone.

'Tis true they were helpt for *gadding abroad*, inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former.

Ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρυρὸν κελῶς.

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their οἰκήσεια, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they *ty'd them up*? as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their a Poets.

a *Ariſtoph. in Theſmop.*

---- Ἡ γυναικωνίτης
Σφραγίδας ὑπιβάλλεται ἄνδρ' ἀμφὶ μοχλοὺς
Τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, κἀ περισκοπῇ μολοττί δὲς
Τρέφουσι μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.
---- beſides the ſeales
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive-curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκουροὶ Houſe-dogs (as wee call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was

ſo

ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. in which ſenſe you may well take that of the ſame Poet in *Luſiſtrate*. χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. for if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſipping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖος κόσμος, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκοσμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] poſted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what doe I talke of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad, or if they were ſuffer'd by them, they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Miſtreſſe ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doores in a paſſion.

[a] *l. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.*

[b] Ἀλλ' εἶσιθ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάροιθε· σὴ γὰρ, μῶρα, μὴ κλύῃς λάβῃς
Πεῖσιν μελάθρων· σὴ δ' ὀφρύη, τέκνον.

[b] *Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.*

But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelfe
Before the houſe, &c.

Where, I dare not ſay, the tranſlator was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*, but what ever he ſaies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at doore; Καὶ ἐν θυρείδες ἐξακύπτωμεν (as the Women complaine in *Theſmophoriazuſæ* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other Women us'd to doe, & to draw in their head againe, the better to draw out the affectiõ of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to goe

* *Ariſtoph.*

goe out of one roome into another, for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectur'd by the words of her *Pædagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children Maids or Boyes)

a Eurip. Phæniss. v.88.

a Ἐπεὶ στ μήπερ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπεῖν
Μεδῆκε.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave* I know not, I believe they could hardly doe it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad, for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies.

Οὐκ οἶσθ ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι νὺ ἕποντο.

The Womens own private chamber, (*Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynecon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) ὄροφος, two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them, for (to tell you in his Words) ὁρ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τ γυναιξὶν ὑπερῴους τινὰ θαλάμους κατεσκεύαζον ὑπὲρ τὸ δυσπρόσιτοι εἶη. the People of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper chambers for the nonce. Ὦα and ᾠὰ they cald them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies closebred up in such a chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by a Ladder, or a paire of staires, 'tis not so easy to determine, as it was to get up. for when I call to mind what a doe the *Pædagogue* (whom I lastly mentiond) had to help up his Pupill by the hand, I am apt to think that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the tother to the *Gynecon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case. heare how she cries for helpe.

Ὄρσεν νῶϊ, ὄρσεν χερσιάν
Νέῳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδὸς ἴχνος ἐπαυτέλλων.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of helpe; for

κλίμαξ

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν καταβήσατο οἷο κέλευθο.

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd expedition, her fashion was ὡς γόνυ ζωσαμένας, as[a] *Theocritus* saies, to be *nudâ genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. such a one as in Hesiod is called γυνὴ πυγόσταλος, me thinkes not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deale of their apparell, and the over many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promis'd a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. besides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, ῥᾴδιον τὰς ἰδέας συνιδεῖν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἔτι πολὺ χρῆσθαι, εἴτε σκυδάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of, because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

[a] *Id.* 14.

* ἀναστυρμίην.

* *L.* 5. *c.* 8.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plowd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd, yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his Hornes*. If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the

* *Plaut. in Bacchid.*

* *Poll. l. 8. c.* 9 pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. it was calld either μοιχικὸς, or μορυόδακτος (*synecdochically*) the part for the whole. for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundiment, according to that of *Juvenal* *Quosdam mechos & mugilis intrat:* Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd ὑπερπυγίων. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publike use of Harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not only forbid to goe to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for Ἀνωφελής, a base companion. On the other side, if the Woman were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a fine. and you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the tother commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman, and is so much more the dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must breake the doore. For proofe whereof, if the Adultery of *Aegysthus* and *Clytemnestra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus*, who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd, *Cuncta*

* *L. 4 Annal* *tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like

b *Isæus pro Pyrrh.* manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman (so she were free borne) his b punishment was a fine, *viz.* a thousand

Drachmæ

Drachmæ, but then beſides that, he was to Marry her too, (unleſſe it could be made appeare ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child; whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worſe then *Virginius*. There was a time when a Raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they call'd ſuch a puniſhment λᾶας χιτών, as *Homer* ſpeaks.

Λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακὸν ἔτεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργας.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (saies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. one in the *Sciron*, another in the *Aria*, and another called *Buzugion:* but yet, saies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατος ὄζυν ὁ γαμήλιος ἄροτος, καὶ ἄρρητος ὅτι παίδων τεκνώσεως, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very sutable to a *Conjugall* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greekes of ἀρόω, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὔλαξ, concerning the Women for as * *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ἀπολαύουσι φαίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ὑπὸ γῆς: as also with the use of the word ἀρόω for to beget, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώσω, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμον in the same sence. So *Aristaenetus* [2] in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἵνα ἀρότρῳ παίδων, and *Moschus* has an *Epigramme* of purpose upon Ἔρως Ἀροτεύων. the Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

* L. 7. c. 17.

[2] L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. but then *Aristotles* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to doe service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἵνα εἰλαχότων τῶν θεῶν ἡ γενέσεως πάλιν, and his reason was, that they might not ῥᾳδυμεῖν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by *this* kind of *travelling* prepare their bodies for a worse: as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wrestle* with the *throwes*. The principall god whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Ἐλειθυῖα ὑπὸ τῶν εἱλεῖν, from her readinesse to come to the Women at a call, or a *crying out*.

* Loco predict.

----- *Aperire partus* [a]
Lenis Ilithiia ----

a Horat. Carm. Sæc.

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handyneſſe or *dexterity*, & willingneſſe to performe it, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quod eam putarent facili Conceptam alvum egerere*, ſaies *Feſtus*, and ſometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

----- *Facilinæ templa Dianæ.* [b]

b Sil. Ital.

Either a *face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle* to it) and ſo was *Ilithiia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖκὶ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (ſaies *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the paines of a Travell are ſo *hott*: or elſe from *facilis*, *eaſy and without difficulty to be wonne*.

c *Ovid. Fast. l. 2.*

----- Gravidis facilis Lucina vuellis, c being likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greekes ὠδῖνα: εἰλείθυια, as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed Θηλῶν Σώτειρα, and ὠδῖνων Ἐπάγωγος, and Ὠκυλοχεῖα, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the doore*, and was alwaies *at hand* to

d *Id.* doe the work of a *hand-woman* --- *tu vota parturientis ades.* Or laſtly from *facilis easy and without paine*, becauſe ſhe gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he ſaies

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe they gave her alſo the title of Γενίδλος, as the Latins did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari;
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abeſſet*, and yet this jeſt (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo farre from liking, that he ſaies it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſh'd the flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called φωσφόρος, quaſi ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλθόντας τῶν βρεφῶν ἔρουσα, ſaith the a *Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Lucifera* or *Lucina*, for by this name ſhe was moſt of all ador'd by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*.

a *Ariſtoph. in Luſiſt.*

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dediſti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

b *L. 2. de Nat. Deor.* Now this *Lucina* (ſaith b *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon, *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina*, and the Moon

c *L. 4. de Ling. Lat.* being (as c *Varro* ſaith) *nascentium dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the Women in travell. *quod partus matureſcant ſeptem aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ curſibus*, or becauſe the Moone by the *filling* and opening moyſture of her influence, *gravidi dates & partus affert, maturitateſq; gignendi*, as the *Orator* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall* number, as you have in *Homer* --- μογόστοκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, and in *Ariſtotle*

Ariſtotle Διὸς πρὸ εἰλειθυίης, &c. you may take it to be in reference only to ſeverall names of one and the ſame *Diana*, and in eſpeciall manner to thoſe three *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, & *Proſerpina* beneath in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*, intheir prayers at the time of Child-bearing.

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſſi leto
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-Woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid, for that was the ground, or the principall name, all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his * *Hippolitus* you have.

Ταὶ δ' εὐλοχον Οὐρεγίαν
Τέξων μεδέσσαν
Ἄρτεμιν.

In another Tragedy. [b] Ποδὸς Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν and
---- [c] φασθ' ἑῷ δύστεκτος. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τειτοπάτορες. *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome: ſo many windes, ſaies one [a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) but what have the Women to doe with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *tympany*, and ſo puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* [a] calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*. and *Philocharus* [b] ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too; for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to them, then for the bringing *forth* of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thankes for the bringing it *up*: and thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that

[a] *Etymol. Dition.*

that he saw *Aegysthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.

a *Eurip Elect. v.616.* a Τεγοῦσα παίδων, ἢ τροφὴ μέλλοντος τόκου;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & fœtu Masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the λόχιοι θαλάμοι in b *Euripides* where speaking of *Iupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies

b *In Basch. v.96.* b Λοχίοις δ' αὐτὸν ἐν
Δέξατο θαλάμοις.

At the time of travell, they were wont to take Palme bushes and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to *conquer* the paine, or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, according to that of *Theognis*

---- θαλερὰς πάτησι λητὼ
Φοίνικος ῥαδινὰς χερσὶν ἰδαλέμοις.

I doe not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St *Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblings *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitum.* or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having child without him. I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it hapened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their house (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partuviri fundavit familiam*, saies * *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Ξίφει ἄμαχον κίονα, saies *Pindar* of the same.

c *De Civ. Dei l.15.c.22.*

a *Ibid.l.6.c.9.*

* *L.10. Met.*

ſame. *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. for ſaies ſhee,

Σπύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould beare the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the Houſe can beare the names, and the figures of the men. as they doe many of them to this day: *names* they made choyce of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greekes, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a hunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial.*

---- *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar inſteed of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man. And well might a male child beare the name of a Pillar, that was ſometimes honourd with that of the Sun, for ſo does ſhee in *Euſtathius* call her child: *Ihad*, ſaies ſhe, ἥλιον ἐ παῖδα, a Sun to my Sonne, but now alas I am become ἀήλιος, and they are both *gone downe.* * *Iſa. l. 10.*

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as ſoone as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant) of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus, a *Plut. in Lycurg.*

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit; nos occapimus
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet?

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus*

mus his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*, though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὸ τικτοῦσαν καὶ τὸ γενηθέν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γοῦν χυτλῶσαι δέσφ.

From which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be calld *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter, for the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλῶσαι, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was, and uſed only for the cleanſing of the body) they annointed it with oyle, kept in a χυτλος, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. the reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort. *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἀνεωχθέντες καθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῦ ἁλαὶ ἐπιφωμασθῶσιν, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been opend by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of annointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσαι, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Iupiter*.

[a] *In Aristoph. Plut.*

------ὑπὸ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθάψατο κόλπων
Αὐτίκα δίζητι ῥύεν ὕδατος, ὄφρα τάκοιτο
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus*, ἐκχύτλωτον λοχείλω. for coming from ſo cleane a place as *Iupiters* thigh, he had no great need of a waſhing.

[b] *L.9. Dionyſ.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabilis, &c.

THE Child being waſhd, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Creuſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechtidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by helpe whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off, beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*, who being borne of nothing but *Vulcans* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

----- ἔστιν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τὸν ὄρθιον, ὅρσιον ἐν χρυσαλάκατος
Τρόφιν τίκτειν. Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. and yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Heſperides* &c. and that becauſe of their quicknes of ſight, according to *Feſtus: Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τοῦ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimam enim habebant oculorum aciem quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſteed of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: and thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*: or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum*

*Eurip. in Ion. v. 25. & 1427.

* *Strabo l. 7.*

labrum. quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De Infantis geſtatione circa focum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwifes to waſh their hands. now in token of joy for having a child, the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands; and in congratulation, the kindred that intended to be at the *naming-feaſt*, ſent their γενεθλίους δῶρα (as *Aeſchylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to doe with us at a *Chriſtning*. the things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon I am yet to ſeeke. The verſes of *Eubulus* cited by *Atheneus* c. 2. ſpeake as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but uſ'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes, and Coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Cherſoneſus-cheeſe*, and I know not what. the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος δαίμων, ὁ τὸν Ἀμφιδρόμιον, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeems was plac'd in the mid'ſt of the roome) or as we may call it *Dauncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming-feaſt which I mentiond, was kept upon the ſeaventh day after the birth, ſaies *Ariſtotle*, and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd to be very criticall to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀνωμάλων πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν, and therefore, ſaies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they preſently gave it a name, ὡς περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as preſuming

a L.7. *de Hiſt. an.*

it

it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) for the feaſt which they kept was called Δεκάτη, and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) Δεκάτῳ θύειν or Δεκάτῳ ἱερεύσαι: and at the ſame feaſt (ſaies *Suidas*) were the Kinred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word Δεκάτη (in *Avibus Ariſtophanis*) I have the plaine teſtimony of the Poet himſelfe in the ſame Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Piſtheteros* thus ſpeaking of Athens, in an alluſion to the cuſtome.

Οὐκ ἄρα θύσω τῇ Δεκάτῃ ταύτῃ ἐγὼ
Καὶ τίνομ' ὥστ' ἂν παιδίῳ τῶν δὴ ξένων.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children, but uſually the eldeſt ſonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot ſay that they kept this name, and had no more, for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*. thus * *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new-nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces* when he became enſlav'd: and indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit. either from the Country as ὁ Σῦρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας or ὁ πυρρίας: or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ ῥᾴων, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεομηνίας. At Rome the Maſter gave them a name of their owne, but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune, which made him in *Lucian*, when an Eſtate fell to him,

[a] *Euſtath. in Il. 5.*

Eur. Hel. v. 13.

* *Achil. Tat. l.5.*

† *Euſtat. l.9.*

Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2 17

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*; and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings, as among the *Persians* &c. or gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. untill she were purifi'd, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layn for dead, or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπό τε τόδε καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντός. which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*, when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes* whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neere her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (saies she) *the hypocrisy of that Goddesse whatever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity, forsooth, shall forbid such and such to come neere her Altars.*

a *Iphig. in Taur.* v. 380.

---- [a] Βέβηλον μὲ λιὼ πᾶν ἄψηται φόνου
Ἣ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ δίγα χρεών
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μύσαγμον ὡς ἡγούμενον.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. for *Thycidides* saies that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of Delos, should by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lye in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iland neere adioyning. What day she was purify'd in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*.

Λέγ' εἰλείθυι ἐν οἴκοις ἀγκάλαις λοχώ.

Whether it were at the time of the πωιδεγκοσος, the feast that was kept at the forty daies end (for so many daies she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδός, when the child was a a *tenne-night* old, (as we say a Seaven-night, counting nothing but the nights for I doe not think 'tis the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know, but *Electra* saies it was so.

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδός, ὡς νομίζεθ'.

Whensoever the time was, the Women, after she had wash'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child, and her Husband to the Nymphes, for helping him to such a Wife, or both (if you will) to returne their thankes, that the child came in its due time, and this one calls παιδὸς δεισθαι πλειστόθεγ δόμοις. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request, but indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed.

* *Pausan. in Ach.*

Ἄλλης τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ πόνων. *Eurip. Electrâ v.* 1128.

During her lying in, the greatest pare of her food was colewort.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τιτθαὶ from τιτθοὶ, the ſame that μαστοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίδες) ξηραὶ dry Nurſes. now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *ut liberiores* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and clenly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies and the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhou'd be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*.

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

δός μοι χυτρίδιον ἀπογλίφ βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their ſponge full of hony, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe (and ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be nurſes themſelves: and therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe employment, was faine to excuſe it, by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. and ſo likewiſe you ſhall finde *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappines, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lalle* a child a ſleepe, they uſed *lallare* to cry λάλα, or Καυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes ὕμνια, for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nænia*, ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφια γλυκερὸν χ' ὑπνον ὕπνον
Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δύ' ἀδελφιὼ, ὕσσα τίκρα

Ὄλβιοι

Ὄλβιοι ἐυγάϊοιδε καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἴκοισθε.
Sleep my little ſoules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ἐπῳδεῖν to the child, calling it alſo ſometimes παιδίον, or παιδιάριον, or σμικρόπαιδα and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expoſitione Infantum.

BUT we ſhall have no need to trouble our ſelves to get Nurſes, if the child either dye of it ſelfe, or be *expos'd* to dye by the Parent. if it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth ſaies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall ſacrifice or ſolemnity in Mourning or otherwiſe. as being (in the words of *Iuvenal*) *minor igne rogi*. which practiſe is by *Plutarch* in his *Conſolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perſwade her not to grieve for the death of her child. ſaies he ἐπὶ τῷ βρέφει ἡ πολυτελείας παραγγελίας οὐδὲ πρὸ τοῦ παιδίου. The cuſtome of *expoſing* children, which the Grecians call ἀπόθεσιν, with the people of ancient times was very uſuall; it was exerciſed upon ſuch children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. we *read indeed that *Moſes* was us'd thus becauſe he was טוב or a goodly child, but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *expoſed* to the river. this practice was in moſt places at the pleaſure of the parent, but at *Sparta* I read that they took better advice, for there they had a Committee of purpoſe call'd by them Λέσχη appointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐπαγὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέον, ſound or not. The places where they expos'd them, were ſometimes Rivers and Lakes, ſuch as *Moſes* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Aemilius*, ſome times a ſinke or a gutter, according to that in *Iuvenal*.

* *Sat.* 8.

* Exod. 7. v. 2.

----- *vota ſi ſæpe*
Ad ſpurcos decepta laeus.

Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all. ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies. *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis* ---- and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Iuſtin* ſaies of one, *Habis* (if that be his name) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem ſuum in mare projici juſſit.* If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it, τοῖς σπαργάνοις faſciis, they put it in an earthen pot. ſuch a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

---- *verum vidi Cantharum*
Suffarcinatum.

as if it were *Suffaſciatum*, whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam*. It is ſometimes called ὄσχεκλον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus

---- αὐτὸν γενόμενον
Ἐξίθησαν ἐν ὀσχάκῳ -----

And ſometimes χύτρα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere*. What kind of thing that αὐτόπηξ was, wherein *Creuſa* expoſed her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine, *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſel, & that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

---- αἰαστίξας σκύτος
Ἑιλικτὸν αὐτόπηκτος.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly ſo, then *Moſes* his תבת can be: for firſt he ſaies there was σκύτος εἱλικτὸν skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſtend or lock'd of one ſide: αὐτόπηκτος ab αὐτὸ, and πήγνυμι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbl'd as he ſaies,

---- κἀκπεσὸν ὡς σανίδιον

Κοίλης

Κοίλας ἐν ἀσπίσιος εὐθέχῳ κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſell*. If the child were expoſed upon the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a basket made of oziers, or bulruſhes, dawb'd & clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſett him *forth* too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many pretious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

* C. 2. v. 3.

---- [a] λίν' εἴχε παρθένος χλιδῶ
Τὸ κεῖσ' ἀφεσάφας' ἔλιπον, ὡς θανουμένῳ.

a Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to finde it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand, and if it dyed, there might be enough for him that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*.

Tolleret.

* *Heautont. Act. 3. Sc. 1.*

----- *cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe πάγγια, or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſten'd about their necks, and were therefore call'd περιδέξια, as they were likewiſe called γνωσίσματα; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and ſuch like toyes (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶ (ſaies * one) not to adorne him, but to marke him ſo as to know him againe, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our doggs: & it may be the rattle-bels were faſten'd to find him by the noyſe, as we doe our Hawkes. for you muſt know, every child that was expoſed, was not expoſed with this in-

* *Dio Chryſoſt.*

tent to be kill'd (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be kild, if it were not expos'd (as it was with *Moſes*) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends, for none have prov'd more famous men then ſuch as were expos'd, as might be made appeare by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Aelian* commendſ for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and ſo did the Romans too afterward, among whom, no expos'd child could be free of the City, and yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it. ὅτι νόμος μηδὲν πεπρωμένον τρέφειν, but he was then in his *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, or his naturall affection. our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better then expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Aegyſthus*, and therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it κρυπτῷ βίῳ; and ſo you might have call'd him δίαιταν πεφευγυῖαν, in the words of *Lycophron*. but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtomes they uſed in education: only, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeverall ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were foure sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non potest*, saies *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine. such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶδ' ἀγχιστέων saies *Aristophanes**, and if that case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did. * *L.3.c.6.* * *In Avib.* a *Eurip. v.* 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἀπαχτῆ, κ' αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν καὶ δόξαν ὢν κεκλήσομαι.

I of a forraine Father basely borne,
No body shall be counted, and forlorne.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon b *Homer* concerning *Teucer* who was a *nothus* himself) being *well* born he must needs be *lawfully* borne, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enioy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam Vxorẽ non habentes aliquã licet captivã tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*: whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* only of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most. * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, that which they had in the nature of gifts, like the מתנת which c *Abraham* gave to the sons of *his* concubines. it was the value of πέντε μνᾶν of five *minæ* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Iupiters* bastard by *Alcmæna* the Wife of *Amphitryon*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he b *Il. 8.* * *Harpocr.* c *Gen.25.c.6.*

could not lay claime to the leaſt part of his fathers eſtate, makes anſwer thus.

Τί δ' ἢν ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ δῷ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθεῖα.

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law againſt that. but the tother reply'd againe, and confuted his anſwer, by urging *Solons Law*, which order'd indeed, that the *nothi* ſhould μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the eſtate ſhar'd among them in portions, but it muſt be only for default of legitimate children, and not otherwiſe. this Law is mention'd by *Demoſthenes* in his ſpeech περὶ Μακάρτατου. 3ly Ὁ Σκότος an *obſcure* ſonne, whoſe Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, riſing out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the helpe of a Father; like the egges which they call ἀνεμώμια, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In alluſion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμώμιον παῖδα, becauſe they fain'd him to be *borne* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4. Ὁ παρθενίας ὢν τις ἐν τῇ ἀδύτοις ἢ παρθένῳ νύμφῃ συνοικήσας ἐποιήσατο, ſaies *Pollux*, a Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when ſhe married, whom the Husband took for a Maide. to theſe may be added 1. ὁ εἰσποιητὸς, or ὁ θετὸς, a ſonne not begotten but made, or adopted, of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. 2ly Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*, and 3ly εὐγενὴς *ingenuus*, the ſonne of εὐγενὴς. any ſonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only belov'd, they uſually calld * πλούσιον.

* l. Poll.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is ſaid of Greece, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the World, in ſo much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κυρτόφος, by way of excellence above the reſt, but how is it then that Homer gives the ſame to *Ithaca* as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ* the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κυρτοφόρῳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica Athens*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the beſt Nurſe of the beſt, I know not: but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Eritichonius* the poore expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgemeet of his education in that land, firſt ſacrific'd to this τῇ Κυρτοφόρῳ, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other god, ſhould πρώτῃ θεραπεύειν, doe it to her firſt. well let us ſee a little what their manner of education was. they ſay the children were uſually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, δεύτερον γράμματα, *firſt to ſwimme, and dive, and then to read.* very good method. If the Father was poore, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnicall exerciſes, hunting and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine * him, as otherwiſe he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintained by the greater ſort, in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were cal'd their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages.* all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were uſually call'd * πώλοι, though, I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Heſych.*

know, πῶλος, and σκυμνὸς too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione, &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborne in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breſts, ὡς τι κερδῆσας ἱκετείας, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerfull motive ſhe had. but the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with them. if a boy had deſerv'd to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they ty'd him faſt, τῷ ξύλῳ, to make him *kiſſe the poſt*, or τῷ παασάλῳ, *to a ſtake*, or *a pinne*, and ſo whipt him. and thus to be puniſhed they call'd it διαπαλαδίζειν. Διαπαλαδίσει γαμεῖ, ſaies he in * *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin Diſtentus affigere humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and ty'd his neck, and armes, and legges, to pinnes faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame which they call'd * τυμπανίζεσθαι, or ὑποτυμπανίζεσθαι but I think that to have been rather the ſtretching, or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tite as that in a drumme, of which perhaps the Poet ſpeaks when he ſaies, Ἡ βύρσα οὐ δερεύσει; from the δέρειν, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. that torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the * *Maccabees*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither, and indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympaniſmum*, to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather then a puniſhment of boyes and children by their Maſters. for ſo *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond book of his * Rhetoricks, ſaies that *Antiphon*

* *In Equit.*

* *Ep. ad Hebr.* c.11.v.35.

* *L.2.c.7.v.7.*

* *L.2.c.8.t.38.*

tiphon the Poet, was us'd by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. and in the sixth * Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all feare, in such as had already suffer'd the extremity of evills, he instances in those that are thus us'd, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανίζομενοι. and so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cryes out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomee*, that τυμπανίζοντος, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouthes to disswade him. but yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπανισμὸς, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called πύμασια, (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffer'd, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto* Ὦ τύμασια χὠ κόφωνες --- saies both ἐφ' οἷς, *on* which, and οἷς *with* which they beat him) & that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. but to returne to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word πάτταλος in that Poet, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master, for instance in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noyse and would not be silent, another threatens him so put a πάτταλον in his mouth.

* T. 24.

----- ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάτταλον λῶμὴ σιωπᾶς.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλάζας, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no; nay in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. that fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of παιδοπαττάλευσις, in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*, that used to *pay* the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better, saies he, παιδεία δυσυχὴς παιδοπαττάλευσις, &c. and so *Prometheus*, whom

the gods ty'd to *Caucasus-hill* for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been περιπεπαλαδμένος, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks

Ἔστ' ἀνὴρ περιπεπαλαδμένος
Τρέφων ἡ γυνὴ δὲ πίτυας.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over the child went farther yet. for firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his Child when he
* *Plut. in Sol.* * pleas'd. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty,
* *Lucian.* might ἀποκηρύξαι ἢ υἱόν, * *abdicare filium ſuum*, turne him out of dores, but not till the Judges had the hearing of the
* περὶ Βοίωτον. cauſe, ſaies * *Demoſthenes*, and then the κῆρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cry'd that ὁ δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. he that was thus uſed was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be ejected out of the Family, & was call'd ἀποκήρυλος: if he were received into favour againe, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe, and then he could never be abdicated any more.

CAP. XII.

De aſcriptione in φρατρίας.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the ſooneſt, and ſeaven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορες, and regiſtred in the Tribe. but before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oaths that the Children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted,
* Demoſt. might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in * Law.
περὶ Μακαρ. the time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια, which was ſo called, either according

ing to the Etymologicall dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ἀπάτορες ἦσαν, to have no Father, did now make it appeare who the father was. or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ὅτι πατέρες ἁπάντων οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Fathers met all together, and ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατούρια, juſt as a Wife is calld, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεχος or ἄλοιτις, for Ὁμόλοιτις, where A is ἐπιτατικὸν, and not a privative, as in ἄπτερος, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was call'd by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, as who would ſay, a *Shearing-feaſt*, becauſe at that time they uſed to cut their haire. the haire which they cut they called μαλλὸν, or σκολλὸν, or θριχῶνιον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to νεκρήϊον, that which they cut at a funerall. this lock (as I think it was) they had nouriſh'd of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their gods, as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was ſacred (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*) L. 1. Ἑλλην.

* *Numb.* 6. v. 5.

[a] Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut becaùſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greeke, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt) ſuch firſt fruits of his Beard [b] *Nero* put into a golden boxe, which he adorned with pre cious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol. If the children were of a Noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it *Apollo*. but if others, ſome to one god and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were gods enough of conſcience) At Rome beſides *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was carefull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

[a] *Euripi. in Bacch. v.* 494.

[b] *Sueton. c.* 12. *ejus vitæ.*

Hos tibi Phœbe vovet totos avertice crines. *Martial.*

Aesculapius was rememberd too, for *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious boxe beset with jewels, and a looking-glasse besides,

Mart. Ep. 9. ----- *dulcesq; capillos*
Pergameo posuit dona sacrata deo.

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up theirs upon a tree, which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? the Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have gods and Saints enough, & to one of them they bestow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and diverse others say, that this registring in the Tribe-book, and that which they call'd the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the Ἀνδρικὸν γραμματεῖον at eighteene, according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. but as yet I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind, for first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or foure years old, and there is my authority. 2ly *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus*, saith he was registred as soone as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen year old: and there is my example. 3ly It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring, they offer'd up the *first-fruits* of their haire, and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. but *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De aſcriptione in Epheborum cenſum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, εἰσήϊσαν εἰς ἐφήβους, they were liſted among the number of thoſe that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*; and to this purpoſe they had certain Officers appointed to ſearch them, to ſee whether they were ſo or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they call'd it) φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν πόλιν, to keep Gard, or doe ſervice in the Citty (of which hereafter) This ſearch or examination was call'd Ἡ Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, ſound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Agraulus*, where they took a ſolemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κυρίῳ too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. neither were theſe later rites perform'd without cutting of haire too: but commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their haire, not to this or that god, but to the rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Country they liv'd in πρὸς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς. thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *vow* to conſecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* return'd in ſafety, and [c] *Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus* ſo as *Paul* ſhav'd his hair at *Cenchrea* upon the like occaſion. The Nazarites when *they* cut their *haire of* * *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, & to throw it in the fire. but amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both with Men and Women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the

* *Schol. in* Hom. Il. 4.
[b] *Pauſan. in Att.*
[c] *Philoſtr.*
* Acts 18. 18.
* Num. c. 6.

poore *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a *Eurip. Heleu v.372.*

a Ἀπὸ δ' παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδειον ἀμφὶ ῥεῦμα ἕνδυμα.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſell of Wine (μίξιν οἴνου, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. and here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets, of two ſeverall waies of cutting of their haire, in uſe among the Greeks. the one was κῆπος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhav'd it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ὀπωπηκότι ἰβῶντι, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty year old, εἰς ἄνδρας ἀπογεγράφθαι *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιάρχικον λῆξαμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belong'd to his *Demus*; it had this name ἀπὸ τοῦ λήξεων, (or τοῦ κλήρων) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoone as any ones name was written therein, he might be maſter of an eſtate himſelfe if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πίναξ πύξινος, a table of Box wood, wherein every one was to ſet downe, of what *Demus* or village he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the Women, they were not wont to be entred into any Tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to age, or neceſſity, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſſe he were a *nothus* or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be ſerv'd with a Writ ἀ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill, and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he ow'd his education, and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. this debt they reckond themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and griev'd for nothing ſo much, as to dye before it was paid, according to that in the Poet *Iliad* Σ.

----- ὄφρ' ἔτι τοκῆας
Θρεπτῆας φίλους ἀπίδωκε; μισωδὲ δώδε κε οἱ αἰὼν
Ἔπλετ' ----- rendred by *Val.* a *Flaccus* thus. a *l.* 6.
----- nec reddita charo
Nutrimenta patri: brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children b *Non eſt beneficium, quod paſcitis; ſed facinus, quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home againe, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and annointed them with oyle, ὅτως ἀπαλύνωσι τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας, ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron.* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had us'd the Epithete a *In Ariſtoph. Veſp.* b *Quintil. decl.* 6.

Epithete Λιπαρεῖ for the feet, in alluſion to the annointing. (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as ſhee did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*.

----- ἐγὼ θρέψω μὲ πάλιν πατέρα
Ἀντιζῶν, καὶ τῶν ποδ' ὀλίγῳ καὶ θερμὰ φασα φιλήσῃ.

For the children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

* *Eurip. Med. v. 133.*

---- ἔχουσι ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are thoſe of burying him when he is dead, and thoſe to be borne by the Sonne too: and therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his owne, *well* (ſaies he) *I am to be reckon'd but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now.*

a *Idem in Alceſt. v. 664.*

a Ὅτι γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περισταλῶσι, καὶ θεμένοι νεκρὸν.
That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man ſo neere his end. we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to doe, I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hæreditate.

* *Iſæ. de Ariſtarch.*

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, free borne, he had power* to adopt him a *nothus*, or

or any one elſe, and this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of a Magiſtrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt be firſt made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him, but this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, 'till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate, it paſſed to another, either κατ' γένος *by deſcent*, or κατ' διαθήκην, *by virtue of a will*. now by *Solons* laws (for before, the eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſy: but with theſe ſix qualifications. Firſt, he himſelf muſt be no Foole nor Mad man. 2ly No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will, for then it could be no will. 3ly No ſtranger, for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4ly No adopted man, for ſuch a ones eſtate (if he wanted a child, was to paſſe to the * next of the Adopters kindred. 5ly Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife, for ſuch a one (ſaies my * author) μωραγωγεῖσθαι ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, is little better then a mad man. 6ly Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. and if there were more Males then one, they were to be ἰσόμοιροι, *coparceners*, or *joynetenants*. but in caſe he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had were not γνήσιοι, free-borne and legitimate, the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονογενὴς, ſole heire: and therefore *he* in *Ariſtophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Iupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons.

Demoſt.

* *Demoſt. ad Leocrat.*

* *Id. cont. Olympiodorum.*

---- πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρος ἦν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηναία θεός;

Οὔσαν συγγενῆ· ὅστον ἀλλοῦν γνησίων.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν, six bushells, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretour, which thing they called κλῆρον ἐπικλῆσαι, or ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν κλῆρον, and if any one would ἀντιποιήσασθαι, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner. only first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

Isæus de Aristarch.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De necessitate sepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides justice into three kindes, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem.* of the second kind of justice *viz.* to the dead I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such a sacred esteeme of a buriall, that Sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rites of a funerall acknowledged to be θεῖα νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins, insomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance, upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were, he should be bound to cast earth upon it, three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe.

Aelian. Var. Hist. l.5. c.14.

[a] *Horace l.1. Od.28.*

---- [a] *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare ----

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian Declam.5.*) observed this

this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſaies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humum congerimus & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; veneretur aggeſtu*, and if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow pig, *porcam* [b] *præcidaneam* (as they call'd it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther. ὁς γάρ ἰδὼν ἐπάφιον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενος κόνιν ἐναγὴς ἦν ἰδίαν. whoſoever ſaw a dead body, and did not turne up the duſt upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a ſcelus, an accurſed devoted fellow, *anathema*, *ſacer* (for what ſhould the body doe any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα μιάσματα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and πᾶν καταχθόνιος δείσας μὴ ἵλαος ᾖ, very much fear'd that the gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. no greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, then ἐπίταφον χάσαι, that he *might not be coverd with the earth*. Mee thinkes I ſee * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles*, as he was ready to ſtabbe him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Iupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogs and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was; that the ancients ſtood ſo much in feare of a death upon the Sea, or a ſhipwrack, becauſe of the death, for there they could never be interrd,

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

Saies *Ouid*, inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they fear'd to be *caſt away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt a ſhore. φέρον δὲ τιμὴν ἐπάφιον τὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης τινὰ; ὁ δ' ἀστυχὼν καὶ καρδίαν νόμιμος ἀδρανείας αἰδοῖ), μὴ ἐχθὲ μικρὸν τι μέρος ἐπιδόντας τῷ χαλεπαμένῳ πολλαπλάσιον; ſaies *Syneſius* in

b *Feſtus c.* 14

* *In Helen.*

* *Homer.*

* *Sophoc.*

one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoone as poſſibly it could, it was counted μίασμά τῶ νεκρῶ, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it μίλτγμά τῶ νεκρῶ, that they had done them a pleaſure. you have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon that ſaying of *Homer Iliad* 7.

----- ἕωσιν δώδεκα νυξὶ μινυνθάδιον ὄντα.

* *Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7.*

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay; and how true it is which one ſaies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet find.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country, inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were wont with ſolemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἐναγλιζόμενοι τὸν ψυχὸν. ---- *manes ter voce vocare.* to give a hollow for the *Soule*, which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. [a] *Pindar* ſaies that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis* deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him.

a *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

----- κἀλεῖ γὸν ἐπὶ
Ψυχαὶ κομίξαι φέλτος ----

And ſo *Ulyſſes* after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe ſaies *Homer* ----- τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀὐσαι: to give a hoop for every one three times, as *Theocritus* ſaies of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲ Ὕλαν ἄὐσαι. in *Virgil* he is nam'd but twice.

Id. 13. *Eclog.* 6.

----- *Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*
Clamaſſent: ut littus Hyle, Hyla, omne Sonaret.

Doubt-

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Countrey, as ſome of the *Iewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*: and yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. for as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanis Ranis*, ſaies concerning the dead.

Οἵς οὐχ ἥκιστα λόγοις ἐξικνούμεθα.

They are gone ſo farre (ὄϊχον) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. ſuch a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον, and to bury a man thus *en effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * *Euripides*. * *Helen. v.* 1562.

Ὅν τυμβεῖς παῖς ἥδ' ἀπόντα κενοταφεῖ;

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Ἐνόμιζον οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐυκλεεῖ τὰ κατορθώματα, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφήτω, χρῆναι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἀνήκειν, though the body were buried in another Countrey, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphium* Κενήϊον, from κεῖσθαι a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

---- b *Tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem* b *Virg. æEn. 6.*
Conſtitui ---- c *Progne* for *Philomela.* c *Ovid. l. 6. fab. 8.*
---- & *inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit ------ The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophiâ ſuâ deciviſſent*, (accounting them departed out of the life that had departed from the principles) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that dy'd upon the Sea.

Ὡς ἦ θανόντα σ' ἐν ἁλὶ πόντου
Θάψαι ----- ſaies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. 'tis worth your labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a

beere as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. if it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τις δ' ὅς' ἐπίσπως τύμβος; ἢ δάπεδος οἰκεῖ;
Hel. Ἑλλὰς ὅστις γάμος, ὃς ἂν πίτνῃ δόμῳ
Theoc. Τί δ' ἔρξε, σοφὸν τοι πλόκαμον αἰ τὸ τοῖον ἦν
Hel. Κενὸν θανόντα δόμοισιν ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beere in pompe, and a buriall in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the statelieſt manner that might be. for with this provision for his buriall he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himselfe and his friend, ὁ Κεραμεικὸς ἔξω νώ; what need I say more of this? it was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* saies *Et sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

* *In Avibus.*

* *L.11. fab. 10.*

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THE customes used at *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end. *viz.* Violent, and Naturall. and first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kild himselfe αὐτόχειρ, they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body, saies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying (or falling downe) Men and Women, but especially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but ἐυσχήμονας ποιῶν, as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killd a man, he that kill'd him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῶ δηλοῦν πεφονευκέναι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he feard not if heaven were witneſſe, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party ſlaine, ἄνωθεν ἀποξυσμενίζόμενος τὸ μῦσος ἐν τῶ φόνῳ (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *avertuncare*, to abominate and wipe away the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος, and συγγενικὸς φόνος (as he ſaies) if the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred, he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick, and therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided Amulets & ſpells to keep them off: and what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer, for love of the carriage; and therefore as ſoon as they had ſlaine him, they cut off all the extreme or outmoſt parts of the outmoſt members and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. the extremities thus uſed they called ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the topps of the eares when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβάς from λοβὸς the lap of the eare, though that word, & λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν, unles you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they kil'd the party quite. thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes call'd ἀπάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*. *Soph.* in Electra. *Apollon.* l. 4.

Ἥρως δ' Αἰσυλίδης ἐξάργματα τίμνε δαΐφρων
Ἢ δίκης αὐδήτην δλυκασίης ἱλάασκε.

And ſometimes μαχαλίσματα, from μαχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν, becauſe oftimes thoſe pieces of the body

μαχάλας

ἐπ' ἀγκῶνας to your armholes. of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus

Τὸ δὲ δαπὸν ἄτμος ὥστε λυμαίνει
Ἐμὲ χαλκίδων.

But if he had killd the man by trechery, he hung thoſe pieces about his neck, and taking ſome of the bloud ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans, not only upon men ſlaine (as *Quintilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them outright, according to that in *Virgil Æn.6.*

Atq; hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſq; ambas, populataq; tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

C.1. v.7. That practice of *Adonibezek* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaſmus*, as this was.

The uſuall puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had kill'd another were theſe. if he had done it unwillingly, he muſt fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) being there, he muſt betake himſelfe (ſaith the * Scholiaſt) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἱκέτης πεσών, into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not cõming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner,) and there ſet him cover'd by the hearth, (a place which they counted holy) καθάρσιον λάβωσι, to expiate the fact, and purge himſelfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or Kinred, he muſt tarry out of the Countrey a whole yeare at the * leaſt. a *Euſtathius* ſaies anciently they ſuffer'd them ſometimes, to redeeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of gold: but afterward it ſeems to have been otherwiſe, inſomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χρηστῶν νόμων, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *participate in their Sacrifices*, but every body elſe (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his houſe. nay they

Ioſhua c.20.
* *On Homer Il. O.*
* *Schol. in Eurip. Hippol.*
a *Il. 18.*

they might not be allowed to speak to him, as thinking him ἀνόσιον κἀθεμιτον, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτὸν κτανὼν.. the Scholiast upon * *Homer*, out of *Callimachus* saies, that among the *Thessali*, they used to drag him about the grave where the party was buried whom he had slaine; as *Eurydamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thrasynus*. * Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulsandis æneis vasis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the custome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a setting (as they used to say -- ἅλιον ἄμμε κατιδεῖν) to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred, and they call'd it Σύγκλεισιν τῶν ὀμμάτων. the performance of this ceremony by the Kindred, was so much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappinesse, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to doe it. as *Ulysses* saies *Theocr.* *Il. O.*

---- ὃ μοι γε πατὴρ καὶ μῆτηρ ἀμφὶς ἔθηκε
Ὅσσε κατακρήνειεν ἀναΐξη ----

If a man died suddainly αὐδήεσσα (saies the * *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman*, to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great ringing with vessels of brasse (Bells some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soule; for such a kind of sound (he saies) is κατακτικὸν τῶν μαινομένων of a speciall virtue for such effects. but else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but * Il. Δ.

dead a sleepe (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyce, as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclipse, when they thought her a sleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloth, and that by the next of the Kin too, for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it.

Κρύψον δέ μου σῴσπορον ὠὸς πώγωνος πέπλοις.

Eur. Hippol. v. 148. And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belong'd especially to the next of the Kin, and therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides* endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies that *they* having the happinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

χερσὶν φιλίαις θανόντες ὧν ὕπο κλαυθμὸν

Shrowded by whom they ought their Kin. If a Father or a Mother dyed a Widow, the Children did it, and so *Medea* tells her children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her selfe.

Eur. Med. v. 1035. Καὶ καταθανοῦσαν χερσὶν δ' ἐμαῖς νεκρόν.

If a Husband dyed, the Wife did it; which happinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attaine if they dy'd at Troy.

Troad. v. 377 ----- ὃ δάιμαρτος ἐν χθονὶ

Πόντιος συγκατάλυσον.

If a brother, the Sister: which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians* a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

Id. Iphig. in Taur. φεῦ. πῶς ἂν μ' ἀδελφὸς χεὶρ' ἐμὴ φονεύσειεν ἄν.

Alack! how shall my Sister shrow'd me now!

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

[a] *In vitâ Numæ.* THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, as those that are dead are called ἱερὰ by [a] *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themſelves ἀγνὰ νεία by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. Sacred I ſay, that is not to be in'ur'd, farre enough from holy, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρῦ δίχα χέρσιν, (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had waſh'd, as συ-γμῶ as a Jew. Touch did I ſay; when *Hippolitus* lay a dying *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay to ſee him dead for feare of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰ ὁ δίμις φθιτὸν ὄρᾶν, — *Eur. Hipp. v.*
Οὔδ' ὄμμα χρόνιον θανασίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς. — 1437.

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves, δυσφήμοις τάφοις, ſaies *Heſiod*; for ἀγνὰ they were not, but only in this ſence, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet

Μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι χαλίζειν ----

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Queſt.* ſaies that thoſe men that out of Pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe before they dy'd, were not fit to beare the name of ἀγνοὶ themſelves. The whole performance of the ceremonies uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Aeſchylus*) Συγ-κομιδὴ, as the *elation* or carrying it forth was called ἐκκομιδὴ. the ceremonies were theſe. firſt they took a piece of mony above a halfe-peny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) & put it into his mouth (*then* you will ſay there was *bos in Lingua*) to ſpeake his *fare* to the πορθμεύς, or Ferriman *Charon*. the piece of mony was called by the name of ναῦλον, becauſe it was given τοῖς νεκροῖς, which ſignifies the dead, from νεκὺς dry, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite

--- ἕως ἀνάπτω λίθον) ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poets fain'd to be ἐν ἅδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Auxnus* ἕως τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν νεκρῶν τῷ, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt.*

Together with the mony, they threw in a morſell of pud-

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. it was uſually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιτοῦτα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς οἷς † Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him when he viſited the dead.

Æn.6. *Melle Saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*
Objicit.

Metam.l 6. *Apuleius* ſpeaks of more pieces then one *offas polentæ mulſo concretas*, and ſaies they were to carry a piece in each hand. the * *Ariſtophan.* Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number

--- σοῦ ὠνήσει
Μελιτοῦτ' ἐγὼ ᾗ δ' ἐμάξω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in pace.

ὕτ' ἄλφιτ' ὕτι τυρὸν ὡς ἀπολούμενος.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the Citty, the κατακλῶ (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body, as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper roome*. This *Enrip.v.157. Electræ.* Λοῦτρα πανύσματα (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in a *Plato*) when heintended to drinke his owne death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelfe afore hand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὥρα τετράδυ σοὶ τὸ λοῦσθαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ μὰ πράγματα παρέχειν γυναιξὶ περιχέαι νεκρὸν λούσαι, which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when he intended to dye for her Husband, ſaies the Poet

* *Acts c.9. v.37.*
a *In Phædone.*

Poet. [b] Ἐπὶ δὲ νιφὰς ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
Ἦκεσαν, ὕδωρ ποταμίοις λιβὰς χρόᾳ
Ἐλούσατ᾽
When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,
She wash'd her selfe in river water cleere.

[b] Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

In allusion to this custome* *Iphigenia* in her dreame, fell a washing of one of the Pillars of the ruined house, which she fancied to see.

* apud Eurip.

Τὸ δεσπότου αὐτὴν ὡς δαΐμονος.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Sonne by the washing of the pillar. to this washing (it may be) alludes that expression of *Strepsiades* to his sonne in *Aristophanis nubibus*

Ὥσπερ πυθρεῶπος ψαλάσσῃ μου τὸν βίον.

He *casteth aspersions upon my life, and washeth me as if I were dead.* This work was indeed proper to the Women; but in case of necessity others might serve; and therefore in [c] *Galen* you shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poore *Theagenes*, because he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and powred *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies *Jupiter* bid them doe to *Sarpedon*.

[c] De Method. Medendi l. 13. c. 15.

Χεῖσαι τ᾽ ἀμβροσίῃ ----- Il. II.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose: having also τὰς κειρίας, bands or lists of cloth, to tye the hands, and the feet withall, such as* *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obstrictus*, saies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white amongst the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyss. 1.

* John. c. 11. v. 44.

* Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis, de coronis quibus corpora ornabantur de lectio & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his πίλα, next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφον τοῖς νεκρικοῖς ἐσθήμασι, ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένοις, saith *Suidas*, as they would doe to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out: and with the like signification I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for cakes were given for rewards as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him say, πῶς σε κρᾶτα νάσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν: how shall I crowne thee with my teares! an example of this practice you may see in *Euripides*, where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Astyanax* in the absence of his Mother.

L. 10. *Isth.*

Eur. Troad. v. 1143.

---- πέπλοισιν ὡς πεισείλης νεκρὸν
Σπέφανοῖς θ' ὅσοι σὶ δίναμις, ὡς ἔχει πάρα.

Artem. l. 1. c. 14.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate, as being never to put his foot in the house againe. then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (πρόκλιν) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave δίκλισιον, as it is likewise term'd κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὐδοντες, and κατακοιμοι μύμνοι, for death is a long sleepe, as sleepe is a short death. The couch was also adorn'd with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and flowers, (as * *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φορῇ βλαστήματα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories: having thus adorned it, the *plac'd it*, or *set it forth* at the doores as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, ---- ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετιγμένον.

** In Hel.*

This placing of him they called προθέσις, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

---- ἡ προθύσεως νεκρόν. * *Eurip.*

During the προθύσις and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth *efferebatur* ἐξεκομίζετο as St * *Luke* ſaith (whether out of the houſe or the City) there * *C. 7. v. 12.*
ſtood at the dore, a great earthen veſſell fil'd with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in that came in and out. This veſſell is called by *Heſychius* χέρνα, by *Pollux* ἄρδανον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὄρακον, in that * *In Eccleſ.*
* place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for the oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made, as *Euſtathius* ſaies ὁ φανὸς was ἢ ἐκ κληματίδων λάμπας (and ſo our Poet in *Luſiſtrate* calls it ἀμπίλου φανὸν) pray take his own words for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of ointment, and the Vine-branches too.

Ὑποτύρσεται νῶϊν πρόπυρ ἢ ὀρυχάδε
Καὶ κλῆμαθ' ὑπόδυ συγκλάσασα τίθεμεν
Κίτται ἴωσαι ἢ φιάδες τὰς ληκύθους
Ὕδατός τε κατόδυ τὸ φάρακτον πρὸ ἢ δύμας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* verſe 99. one makes a doubt whether the Woman were indeed buried as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any Spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the doore as the cuſtome was.

The Waſhing it ſelfe was called λύσις ἀπὸ νεκρῦ, like the Iſraelites βαπτίσεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῦ, which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the houſe; for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body in the wall, and ſo did the Greekes too, as may appeare by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

Καθαρὰ

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

[a] Καθαρὸς γάρ ἡμῖν δώματ' ἐν δόμοις
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως ----

Our houſe is cleane, for *Menelaus* here
Loſt not his life. ----

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE beſt time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day and not in the night, and this I gather'd by thoſe words in the Poet, wherein *Caſſandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in night (clean contrary to the judgement of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better ſort) ſaies ſhe

b Id. in Troad. v. 446.

[b] Κακὸς νεκρῶν τροφεὺς τυμβεῖς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun riſing,

Il. Π. ---- ὡς ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠὼς.

(ſaies *Homer* in the funerall of *Hector*) at break of day, up the corps is mounted, and carried along moſt bravely ἀωρεὶ πομπῇ κεκοσμημένον (ſaies *Lucian*) in pompe, as if it were intended for a *ſhew*. now it was carri'd (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer*) οὐκ ἐπ' ὀχήματος τινός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens ſhoulders up aloofe ἄρσιν, as *Euripides* calls it, ſpeaking of *Alceſtis*, where he ſpeaks alſo of θεράποντες Servants (I ſhould have thought the bearers had been ſome of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

n De Luctu.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

---- [a] θεράποντες
Φέρουσιν ἄρσιν θεοῖς τύμου τε, καὶ πυρᾶς.

In the like ſence he uſes the word φορεῖσθαι in another Tragedy; where ſpeaking of *Rheſus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpſichore*, when *Ulyſſes* had ſlaine him,

Τίς ὑμᾶς καθαλὼς ὁ Θρῃξ, ὦ Σαπλεῦ
Τὸν νεόμυστον ἐν χεροῖν

φορεῖσθαι

φονεύθη τινὸς ----

If the party dy'd of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Speares, and other armes and armour along with the corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*

---- *Hastam alii, galeamq; ferunt* ---

And it is likely they held those Speares at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the buriall of a Souldier, and as they did then

---- *& versis Arcades armis.*

As the corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure; for it may well be conjectur'd by the words of *Admetus* to the People of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife.

[a] Τιμᾶς γ' τὸν θανόντα, ὡς νομίζετε
Πομπεύσετ' ἐξοῦσαν ὑπ' ἄστρων ὄδον.

a *Eurip. Alc. v.* 608.

Those that accompanied the coarse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one they honour'd very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick * person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorn'd with Garlands. in going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walke stately before the corps, and the * Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πίνδαξ about her, whatsoever that was.

* *Diog. Laert. l.* 10.

[a] *Demost. ad Mætart.*

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jewes had [a] מקוננות, and the Romans *Præficas*, so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance. ἀοιδούς, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them, or πανδημεὶ as *Nonnus*. And since vocall Musick might be allow'd, I marvell very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

[a] See Ierem. c. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip Alc. v. 430.

Αὐλῶν δ' μὴ τις ἆσυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
Ἔστω ----

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, the originall of all harmony; according to that of * *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum institutа sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est ad cœlum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing ἐπὶ λύρᾳ, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pean's* and such merry songs (as the reason is given by a Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, Ἄλυρόν τε μοῦσαν) but for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing ἐπὶ αὐλῷ, for else why were there τυμβαῦλοι Pipers among them, as there were *Siticines* among the Romans?

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them τι κομιδὴν, one fine thing or other to carry in their hands or to put upon the coarse, such as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

[a] In Alc. v. 630.

Κομιστὸν τὸν σὸν ὄπισθ' ἢ σ' εἰσβίσει).

Thy

I have ſome cauſe to think that ſome of thoſe κομιδὴ which they carri'd, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceaſed: (for ſuch they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. and if ſo, then thoſe περιτάφια ἀγάλματα * (neere the place above quoted) ſaid to be carried by thoſe which followed the corps, may be tranſlated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. or if it muſt needs be *grata munera*, it muſt be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themſelves.

* lib. de v. 612.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceaſed. for ſuch as had more age, had more honour then others, and therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger ſort, he replyed, by no meanes; for

Καὶ γραῦς ὀλοῦμαι, πολλὰ κἀν τάφοις ἔχω.

If old ſhe dye ſhe ſhall be richly buried.

And here becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I goe any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtomes uſed in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and firſt of the cutting of the haire.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſſe* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their haire τὸ τρίχωμα (as they cal'd it) or to ſhave it cloſe to the skin. for ſo much may be gather'd by thoſe words of *Lyſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his ſpeech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

* L. 3. c. 10.

Persians at Salamis, saies he. ἄξιον ἦν τῷ πόρῳ πενθεῖσθαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πολυανδρίων κενοτάφων τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had been no lesse then dejectt, if all Greece had been shav'd at the buriall of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to doe the like.

----ἰαχεῖτο δ' Κυκλωπία
Σίδηρον ὅλη νεάτα πενθοῦσα κάρη.

For he himselfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourn'd for after this manner, by no worse man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome *Strabo* speaks of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comana*, from the *mourning-haire*, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalfe of *Phaeton*, and of *Bacchus* the god (as *imonius as he was*) for the losse of his Wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himselfe at this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death; and * *C. 7. v. 29.* in the Prophecy of * *Ieremy* you may read, *Cut off thy haire, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* 'Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in * *Cicero* you shall meet * *Tusc. Q. l. 3.* with a saying of *Bion* himselfe, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maeror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former losse of his friends, with another of his haire. What if it be objected to all this, which we confesse to be true too, that it was a custome to cut the haire in token of joy? For First among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Prison; and *Ionathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. nay that action of *Job* itselfe, is by *Origen* (the *Alexandrian* interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerefull patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their *squallid Prisoners* let their haire hang downe long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and so move the Iudges to

pitty

pitty when they came to be try'd.

**Aſſice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.* * *Ovid. In Epiſt.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it:& therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their haire grow long in times of ſadneſſe, may appeare by that of *Lychophron.*

Κρατος δ' ἄχευς τῶτα χαλυνεῖ φόβῳ
Μνήμῃσι παλαίων πικρῶν' ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of queſtion if we believe *Artemidorus* who ſayes that διὶ χαὶ εἰωθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς χείρεσθαι χ) τὸ χαίρειν, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the haire.* To reconcile theſe things, perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their haire ſhorter by way of a Κῆρος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy: but *ſhaving* it cloſe, even to *baldneſſe*, of ſorrow and dejection: as among the Jewes, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſſe*, were joyn'd together. Iſai c.22.vit. I know there are ſome, that thinke to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' ἄλλοις ὅταν δυσχλία γένῃ κείρεσθ) τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, that *Women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their haire, & the Men by letting it grow.* which may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſſe, love to appeare as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſuall faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (& ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greekes, for Women to weare their haire long, and the Men to weare it ſhort. but how is it then that in * *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long haire?

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter. * *In Heaut. Act.2,s1,3.*

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ἀσημοῦν, &c. it being a time for ſadnes they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα, a *Barly-maſh*, (good Ale it's like, and a good exchange) But ſorrow muſt be more then negative (though two of their negatives make an affirmative) and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to teare their cloths & their haire, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſome times to fling their vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*.

Eurip. Εἰ συμπυρῶσαι μυελὸν πόπλων χλιδᾶν.

2ly To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9. *Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſenilis,*
Fœdat humi fuſus ----

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourn'd for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Suppl. v. 826. ----- ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθεῖ
Κάρα κονίσασθαι:---

3ly χόπτεσθαι (which is us'd for πτύσσειν) to beat their breſts & their thighs, and cut and teare their fleſh like a Jew, as one ſaies ----*ἀμύσασθαι χρόα κλαυθμῶν.

** Smyrnæus β.* Making ſtreakes and *furrowes* with their nailes in their face. (as ** Euripides* uſes the work αὐλακίζειν.

** In Hel.* ---- ὄνυξιν ἀλοιόωμεθ')

4ly To draine, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἴ, ἴ, ἴ, ἴ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *b Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἴαλεμος to be

b In Avib.

any

us'd for a ſong of lamentation, *ſcilicet* ἀπὸ τῆ λόγῳ ὁ.

But at a funerall ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtraine them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergo habento*, *Let no Women &c.* Their cuſtomes they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire: and it is noted by the * *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy-water, nor ſo much as a lock of haire could be ſeen at the doore, as they were wont to be.

* *Cicero* [*De Legib.*

* *Eurip. Alc.* v. 100.

Χαίτα τ' ἔπι δῶ' ἀξύρεα πιμαῖ-
- ος, ἃ δὴ πλοῦσι πίνδοισι πίτνει.

2ly As they went along with the corps they kept their heads cloſe-covered, and their faces, as other people doe: and therefore *Oreſtes* when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he

* See Eſther. c.6. v.12. & Ierem. c. 14.v.3.

---- ἀναχάλυπ' ὦ χαλόγνωρ' ὄφρ
Ἔκ δακρύων τ' ἀπολ' ----
Be uncover'd *&c.*

In like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another * Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his helpe χαίτης χλαινίδιος, all bemuſled and covered in the habit of a Mourner; ſaid to him

* *In Suppl.* v. 110.

Λὰξ γ' ἐκβαλόψαι κρᾶτα· χὠ πάρεγγυος.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their head (as we doe our heads upon our hands) ſo * *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans Ἐπὶ χερσὶ κόρας ἔθηκαν.

* *Id.* v. 376.

3ly Their manner of going, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noyce with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to Weepe)

Σῖγα σῖγα λεῖθον ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τιθεῖσα, μὴ κλύοιμι, μηδ' ἔτω κλύων.

Saies

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of * Kings tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth ויהלך אט and *went softly*. and so * *Isaiah* saies, *I shall goe softly all my years in the bitterneſſe of my ſoule* אדדה though I know ſome tranſlations render it otherwiſe.

* *C.* 21. *v.* 27.
* *C.* 38. *v* 15.

41 When they came to the place of buriall (for I mean to end the Mourning firſt, and then to come to the reſt) they would cut off all the beſt locks of their haire (πλόκαμοι or βόστρυχοι) and lay them on the grave, or caſt them into the fire. and this they called θριξὶν χυρεῖν, and τεμνόμενοι πλοκὰς (as it is in *Ariſtophanes*) or τιμῶν βόστρυχον (as in *Aeſchylus*) or καρπίμου χλιδῶν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τ̃ κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *beſt Locks* I ſaid; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the beſt of her haire to ſave it, at the buriall of *Clytemneſtra*: for indeed ὥδη τοὺ κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνοῦντας πάντα τ̃ πλόκαμον τιμῆν, *they ſhould off with it all*, ſaith the Scholiaſt upon that Poet, who in another place has given a reaſon or two for the action, *viz.* Firſt to make them ſeeme ſquallid, and careleſſe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἀβρύνεται ἡ κομωμένη ἐμπρεπέστερον, *are uſed for ornament, and ſpruceneſſe*, as being τρυφὴ τ̃ καθαλῆς (as I may ſay) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then, tis known that the Greekes were κομηκομοῦντες, & uſed to weare the haire long ὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν, ſaies the * Scholiaſt, both to *pleaſe their friends and to fright their enemies*. nay they took ſuch as *pride* in having it ſo, (calling themſelves Ἀκρωτάνας, & ſuch as cut it too ſhort κυρτοὺς) that κομᾶν, ſignifying to weare haire long, has been uſed to ſignify to be * *proud*, as in *Herodotus* ὀλίγου ἐγκρατὴς ἐκόμησε.

* Il. β.
* Il. 4.

21 Ἵνα διὰ τούτου πάνδυς ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ τεκὼν ᾖ. to get the good will of the deceaſed party, and the *Manes*. ſome again ſay it was done to none but a Parent, or a Feſter-father, or Mother, by way of thankes for their education, and ſo they cal'd it θρεπτήρια πιεῖν, or ἀντιτιθέναι τὰς ἀναθρεψάσας· but why then ſhould * *Hercules* doe it to *Soſtratus* he who was but his

* *Pauſan.*

Ganymede

Ganymede. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of eleaven daies) the Women were not to weare any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at first were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος ἀπὸ τοῦ λύειν ὁ ξύλινος, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome some doe referre that in the Satyrist.

Pullati proceres, &c.
----- *tunc odimus ignem.*

If the mourning were for a publique calamity, all the *palæstræ*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the Temples themselves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, & see it buried as soon as I can, for feare of giving offence (as I told you before.)

* *Lycophr.*

* *Vid Suid. in* φρυκτὸς & *Hesych. in* Δαλός. *Iuven. Sat. 3.*

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Ἡριαῖαι, so called because they led to the ἤρια, the *Graves*, or the *Common-place of buriall*. this gate is sometimes called Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, [a] *Sacræ portæ*, whether in opposition to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the κατάρατοι πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phrase, or *Scelerata porta*, as the Romans doe) by which they drag'd the Malefactors, I am yet to seeke; for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. it seems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] *Theoph. Ayal.* [b] *Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

Τρωσὶν ἢ ταρχύουσι Κεραμῆες νύκτα.

Or that of * *Virgil.*

* Æn.11.

----- *fuit ingens Monte ſub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

* *Aurelius* ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex ſe nomen dedit.* unleſſe you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſize, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*, and ſo the hilles muſt be made by the buryer as * *Lucian* ſaies.

* Lib de Orig. Gent. Rom.

L. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant.

But for men of a lower ranke, 'till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

----- ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν γαίης
Βῆσι πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἄϊδας δόμους.

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, calledby the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δ' ἔξω τῶν πύλεων, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burialls* or the *Berryes*. That buriall place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thycidides*) was for thoſe that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeverall fields, and encloſures, and therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes they were buried in the bounds of thoſe fields, ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

* In Rheſ. v. 880.

----- πεζοὶς
Θάπτειν καλεύειν λαοφόρῳ σὺν ἐπῳδαῖς.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies when they came to the place of buriall, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* τὸ πάλαιον τὰ σώματα τῶν τελευτώντων ἔκαιον ἔκαιστο διὰ τὸ ἀπίεσθαι γύπας, ὃ δ' ἔστι ἐκαίετο ἀντὶ τοῦ κλαῦ, the cuſtome was at firſt to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi ſe igni luſtraverit petere ſedes inter aſtra*; and the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *becauſe by this meanes the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* but that cuſtome (I know not for what reaſon) was not ſo well lik'd by other people inſomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Perſians*, thought it ἀνόσιόν a thing moſt profane (I feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing elſe,) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe us'd, ſo as ſometimes they would burne them, and ſometimes only cover them with earth, which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος a *Grave*, ſhould come from τύφειν, τυτίσκειν κάειν, *to burne*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. but for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two, as may appeare by their unwillingneſſe to have it common, for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt to Infants. 2ly To ſuch as kild themſelves. 3ly To ſuch as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, *ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we doe thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like: and thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſton'd to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him as ſome repurt) becauſe they imagin'd him to have been ſhot to death by *Iupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωὶς ſeorſum, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*,

Il. A.

* *Diog. Lert. l.* 1.

Ἤχωε, ἐεργὸν ὡς περὶν θάψαι θέλεις

And lastly to Traytors, on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to doe it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country; and therefore having obtain'd fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned, whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himselfe, adding withall,

------ ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ

Γναπτὸς γναπτὸν πρὸς λελάχωσι δαΐφρονα.

Upon which words you have this scholy. Ἐντεῦθεν νόμος ἦν φερόντων μὴ θάπτεσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ νομοθετούντων ἐκεῖθεν *Hence came the Law* &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are so neare in their sound, they have been farre enough distant in their being, at least in some Countreys, for at Rome it was not us'd in *Macrobius* his time Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinu'd only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not us'd: for one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cry'd aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον εἰ δύναιτο καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* the first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*, who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his sonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for the

the horſe, engaged himſelfe by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father againe; but the ſonne being kill'd in the Warre, he took him and burnt him, and carried the bones to his father, σοφιζόμενος αὐτὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had had his ſonne indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. and yet he us'd him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promiſed him fifty ſhipps with men, ſent him but one true ſhip, and pop'd him along with ſhipps and men made of clay for the reſt. the ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two for the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ περιὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purifi'd, and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly us'd to ſuch a purpoſe as being ἀγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chaſt which before was adulterate with *Heterogeneous* abeſements and alloys, whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body, πυρὶ καθάγνισαι: or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carri'd in the fire, as in a coach to be joyn'd in ſociety with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον τῷ ἀϊδρωτι ἀκατοριθῆν ἄνωθεν ἐς χῶμα τοῦ πυρὸς (how neere this goes to expreſſe the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) ὀχεσμάξαι τοῖς ὀρνίθοις. which Princes had no need of, if they could be carri'd upon Eagles wings. as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀνακτηθῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and ſo to become κακὸς ὄνειρος as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophiſters of India (πυρίκαυστοι) us'd to burne themſelves into that immortality which they deſir'd of *Alexander* when he put them to aske what they would.

* Χ. Hom. Il. A.

Ib. Χ.

* Cic. Tuſc. Q. L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis
De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer* where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. Ω. Ἐν δ' πυρὴ ᾐθάνε νεκρὸν δίον· ἐκ δ' ἄβαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not all waies of one sort, but sometimes Oake, as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of καρικὰς δρύος *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children: sometimes Olive, as in [a] *Sophocles*; and sometimes Pine, as in [b] *Atheneus*, unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. if the party had lost his life in a shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

* *Herc. Fur.* v. 241.
[a] *In Trach.*
[b] L. 15.

Manlius l. 4. ---- *ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis*
Et collecta rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Thus to burne the bodies, they call'd it πυρᾶν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it selfe πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and pray'd to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better: not to put the carcasse (surely) but themselves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embrac'd it as an excellent good omen. Still there was a Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine, and after that τὼ πόρεν σὼ πῖς ὀστέα ἐχώννυον *, they swept up the ashes together in a heape. the bones they took and wash'd them in water

* Il. ψ.

brought

brought in χύτραις pots for the purpose, by the ἐσχυτρίαι, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, and such other things as they us'd in the χοαὶ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrap'd them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they call'd σάκλον, or πίνακα, or σορὸν. * *Etym. Mag.*

* Ὃς γὰρ ὅστις ποτ' ἦν ἐμὲ σορὸς ἀμφιπεπλώσεται. Il. ♁.

The vessell whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophron* called κρωσσός, as if it were a Pot, and in *Moschus* χρύσεος κρωσσὸς, as if it were wont to be gilded, and in * *Plutarch* λιθίνοις σοροῖς, as if it were wont to be of stone. methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called ξυλὰ ζωῆς, *the life of the dead*. indeed whether it were ordinary to have such coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. but that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κίδρος, us'd sometimes for the chest it selfe does seem to declare: as in those words of * *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. *Idyl.* 4. * *In Numa.* * *Eurip. Alc.* v 365.

Ἐν τοίνυν αὐτοῖς γ' μ' ἐπικτίλῳ κίδρις
Σοιπὸς ξυνῆναι πόδας----

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desir'd was so usuall both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora novissima junxit *Ovid. Met. l.4. fab.2.*
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin, but the *Megarenses* many times foure, saies *Pausanias*. The bones they kept, because they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Relicks*: and they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Oreste*, μήπως ὑφ' ἑχθρῶν &c. least they should be expos'd to the rage of too deadly Enemies. if the party were burnt in a forrein Countrey, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorn'd with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia*-feasts, *Vetus Gloss.* ταῦτα ἀγαλμάτων ἐστὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων πρὸς τὰς τριόδους, After they had laid it up among the Monument, they cited the party three times ('twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance,

Virgil. ---- *Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family; only such as prov'd [a] unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of * ἀνόμαστοι. *Diog. La. Harpocr.*

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE customes used in a *cold* buriall were these, (and some of them us'd at a burning too, as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was usually chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone, and when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, σῆς ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφου, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place, μητρὸς ἐξόχων τάφων, and the Latine word *Tumulus*, a *heape* or a *grave*. but (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs, for so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps ---- Λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξοχώμασιν. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth

Τύμβον

Τύμβον καπίδω ξέσσω, saies the same Poet in *Alceſtes*, and in *Helena* ---- δὸς ξεστῷ τάφῳ. The poſture the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt, saies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt foure Heroick verſes and no more. ſuch Epitaphs they called γραμμάτα, becauſe they made *known* the party, as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memoriæ*, becauſe they made them *remembred*: and therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (ſaies *Iuſtin*) uſed to tye a ticket or note about their wriſts, to certify of what condition they were, that in caſe they ſhould dye in the Fields, they might have a buriall and a Monument, according to their quality. having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. ſuch a prayer the Chorus in *Euripides* us'd for *Alceſtis*.

c lib. v. 238.
d lib. v. 992.

---- κυφάσι
χθὼν ὑπόπτω πίσσῃ, γύαι.

* v. 462.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked * fellow, or a * Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be deny'd to another: and this made *Menelaus* to feare ſo litle to dye, for ſaies he.

* Κακὸν.

* Εἰ γ' οἶσθ' ὅτι σοὶ σοφοὶ
Εὔλογον αὐδᾷ πλεμέων δανὸν θ' ὕπο
Κύρῃ καταμίξαντα τὸ πύμα χθονὶ
Καλὸς δ' ὑφ' ἅρμα πρεσὶν ἐκδύναι γᾶς.

* Eurip. Hel. v. 857.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἄδης or ἅιδης, was a place

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Akar (ἦν ἐχάρην) (perchance to get the neerer to them) according to that practise in *Ovid.*

Met. l. 7. *Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

The Victime then slaine, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer* saies ---- σεῖραν βοῦν ἦτε ἄρρεν, and * *Virgil.*

Odyss. 11. ---- *Sterilemq; tibi Proserpina, vaccam.*
* *Æn. 6.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slaine at the grave of *Agamemnon*

* *Eurip. Electr. v. 513.* * Πυρᾶς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὄϊν μελάγχιμον πίνῳ
a In Oedip. v. 556. Σφάγιον ἐσεῖδον ----

and such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere*, &c. the reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with mourning, or because it was to the black gods of the darke. for as * *Arnobius* saies, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus inferas color fuscus est gratior.* Afterward it rose to an Oxe till it was forbidden by *Solon.* Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or a Hog, as it was best if it were a spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ramme nor Bull, nor Boare, &c. μὴ μὲν γενάδινα ζῶα, or ἄτοκα ἀειράων, ἐὴ ἄτοκα μὴ πάσαν ἄορχα, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered downe both their own haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς viz. ὡς ἀψύχοις πόθεν ἀφοσιώσεως, that they might not give the dead, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. those ἀπαρχαὶ, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as in these words,

Hom. Il. 4.

Il. ξ. ---- ἀπαρχόμενοι κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
Ἀχιλλῆϊ θεοῖς ----

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil.*

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus imposuit ----

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they slew, but all the rest which they suffer'd to live, in the time of a publick funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men, as appears by the practise of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funerall of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funerall of *Hephæstion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the Walls themselves of the Towne of *Ecbatane*, ἀπεκείρατο (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them ἐς χρῶ close to the ground. and I remember in * *Euripides Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut

---- πᾶς δ' ἱππόμυρμυκας
Πάλλευ σιδήρῳ πλόκαμον αὐχένων φόβην.

* *In Alcest.* v. 429.

Then besides the victime they had τὰς χοὰς *Libationes*, which was usually μειλίγματα, hony and milke and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render aright

---- ἐμπίτνει δ' ὑφαίσσων. in * *Euripides*. the manner of using these liquors, was first to goe round about the grave, and poure out some as they went out of the bottle (as he * saies λύσας ἀσκὸν) and then to stand on the top, and dee it there too, as *Sophocles* saies πολύπους ἐξ ἄκρας &c. As they offered, they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was Ἔλθοι δ' ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἡ δυσπότμου χθών.

* *Hel.* v. 554.

* *Id. in Elect.* v. 530.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead, to be propitious to them: and therefore those χοαὶ, were usually term'd ἀφαυστήριοι, and ἀλυσίβιοι, and καλπίδιοι χοαὶ, and they made choyce of the most proper liquors, for to sweeten and supply them. such a Prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, Νῦν χοὰς μοι τὰς ἐκ πολυπτύχου κρατῆρος ἀγγὼς θοῦ.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leaguerers at *Troy*, and their friends at home, saies that, *Their Parents be-*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

----ἀλλ' ἄνδρες πάρος
Ἐδ' ὄντες αὐτοὶ αἷμα γῇ δοκοῦσιν.
----no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the herse & the corps, and this action they called στεφανοῦν & σύμβολον, and the Garlands themselves ἄνθη, and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἀθροισμάτια, made of a *Collation*, or a *collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be throwne ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐσχάρας, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower σέλινον (saith * *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called σέλινοι too. and it may be sometimes of Σέλινον or *Appium*, as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance, Mules laden with this *Appium*. the Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick Δεῖται σελίνου, *that he needs Appium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has wonne the best at a fight, as well as when death has given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (*in Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies * *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀοχλήτου ἀμεριμνίας ὁ σύμβολον. but I rather think

* L. 14 & 5.

* Pædag. l. 2. c. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you that they intended it ὡς τὸ πρὸς τὸν μεταροεῖν τῶν ζώντων, to honour the dead as they us'd to doe the living when they wonn the *Game*. for the same reason doubtlesse was it that they did φυλλοβολεῖν (as they call'd it) falla throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave, as *Euripides* saies they did to *Polyxena* when she died (for in later times, if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in * *Euripides* with Myrtle.

* Electr. v. 512.

---- τύμβῳ δ' ἁμιλλᾶται μυρσίνην.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden bough* or not I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, & in *Servius* his notes upon him, It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes, for saies * *Varro*, ad *Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carri'd leaves to cast upon the dead *tuos*. and that they took the paines to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis &c.* nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my * Author, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

Æn. 6.

* L. 6. de L. L.

Id.

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis, de Oratione, & Ludis funebribus, & de Aquilis.

Either upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*, and *Isocrates* with the image of a *Siren* for being an *Orator*: and it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his Wife, when he would get the

Cicero de L. L.

Diog. La.

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοὶ δ' χἠτταίνων κλαυτὸν τὸν
Ἰκμάδιν ἐν λεχέσσιν ἐνταδήσω.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publick speech in the *Ceramicus*; which speech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after: as *Cicero* saies *in Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* *Lib. de Orat.*

The first that began this custome of making Speeches, some say, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slaine in the *Peloponesian* warre; and some. *Solon*. but besides funerall-speeches, they had Funerall-*playes* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους. both the Play and the Feast, commonly goe under the name of τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practis'd by the unhappy people of those times, even in Burialls, when they should have more wit, what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* that even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and foolish in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her selfe, or the * Poet for her.

Δοκεῖ δ' τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν τάφος,
Εἰ πλουσίοισι πλεῖον' ἢ πενησμένοις
Κενὸν δ' χαύχημ' ἐστὶ τῶν ζώντων τόδε.

* *Eurip. Troad. v.* 1247.

I thinke it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poore they have the funerall,
Tis th'livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus dispos'd of the body, they return'd home. for the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagin'd ἀχέτας to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*, and therefore was it, that they were* wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. in allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach. *Artemid. l. 2. c. 20.*

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging, and *Lustrating* the house with brimstone, and themselves by going through the fire, or some other lustration (for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it.) thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slaine by *Hercules*, rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the λαὰς in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερὸς ἅ τῶν πέριξ' ἐχέτας δ'
Καθαρὸν ὕδωρ. *Eurip. Here. F. v. 923.*

After this they kept a feast, τὸ ἀμφίδρομον, *Silicernium*, or *circumpotationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it wore Garlands, as *Cicero* saies, *quos inibam parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparell was white, *& quis unquam cenavit atratus*, saies* *Cicero*. but how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to goe all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in* *Euripides* bids them mourne for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελανειμάτῳ στολῇ, in black, and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* κυανόχρως in a sky colour'd gowne. perchance they wore black no longer, then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewd againe, not only nine daies after, when they call'd it [a] ἔνατα, and thirty daies after, when they call'd it τριακοστὰς (when they *Odyss. ν. 7.* * *In Catinium.* *Il. 24.* * *Alc. v. 427.* [a] *Pollux l. 3. c. 19.*

they sacrific'd to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the *fields*. but also upon the day of his death ever after, calling it νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth, calling it γενέσια. the common name for all these feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernall rites, and for all persons, was Νεμέσια, usually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*, as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum* when the Kinred especially (*ies parens*) did sacrifice to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have nam'd, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be sufferd to beare any part, as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice.

Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐχθρᾶς ἐπὶ γραυὸς ἑρπύσῃς
Κτεάνων.----

Nor so much as come neere the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* forbid to doe to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas* (saies *Tully*) that no *stranger* might be suffer'd to doe it, for feare he *might* be an enemy. moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for so * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawne like a sheep*, by the never satisfied teeth of a hungry גהנם. for τυμβόμενος, he that is buried, and laid in a *Serco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly said to be devour'd, as what is devour'd and inclos'd in the stomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried τυμβεύεσθαι. for so the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἐμψυχοι, *living graves:* nay the Metaphore is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even *their mouthes are open sepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. as that

* Il. ρ. Psal. 49. 14.

* Hes. mag.

of

of *Tereus* when he eate his Sonne.

Seq. vocat luctum miserabile nati.

And of Saturne when he did the like. nay being buried, & being devour'd, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturne* was thought to have been said, to have eaten his Sonns, becauſe he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. there's no stopping nor filling their mouth. Ἅιδου δὲ βωμὸς, saies *Æschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. he is inexorable, and therefore call'd ἄπρατος θεὸς in *Euripides*. neither (saies a * Scholiast) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L. 1. c. 13. * On Hom. Il. 1.

His Wife if she seem'd to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed, ἐπίτροπον to a *Tutor*. he that was to ἐπιτροπεύειν, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all or else so farre off, that if the child should happen to dye in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*, which way soever it were, he was κύριος παίδων (saies *Æschines*) and had the mannaging of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old, and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a writ *Malè administratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. but this must be done within five years after the Pupill came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De supplicibus sacris. De asylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to see the Marriage of himselfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I say somewhat in commendation of his Conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customes used in *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore, or his Enimies in waging of Warre. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided

ded into three ſeverall Sections, and firſt of Supplication called by them ἱκετεία.

The perſon of a diſtreſſed Petitioner (as an abuſed ſlave or the like) whether he addreſſed himſelfe to men or to the gods, but eſpecially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as ſacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, ſent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forreſt to the *Athenians*, related by *Pauſanias*.

Φεύζεο δ' Ἄρειόνδε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις,
Ἐυμενίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετεῦσαι,
Δυσὶ πεζομένους, τοὺ μὴ σὸ κλεῖνα πάθῃσι
Μηδὲ ἱκέτας ἀδίκεῖν, ἰκέτῃ τ' ἴσον τε κἀγορὰ.

For if he came flying to ſuch or ſuch Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon paine of exilement, and therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it ſuch a ground for his confidence: ſaies he

---- Βώμιοι δ' ἑδραῖοι πύλας πάρος. *The Altars are not farre of.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, * *what* (ſaies he) *doſt Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feard to meddle with, or to ſlay any body neer thē, becauſe they thought the blood would be upon them that ſhould doe it, yea though they were already dead in the Law, for ſo the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creuſa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (ſaies ſhe) *but I muſt be kill'd by the ſame Law, No matter* (replies the Chorus) *ſit faſt, and if any one kill thee there*

* *Eurip. Hel. v.805.*

a Πεσσεται αἷμα θύσῃς. a *Ib. v.1258.*

Thy blood ſhall be upon him.

Inſomuch that a great many even amongſt them, ſeeing malefactors thus protected frō the *Law*, & conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complaine of the injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ δεινόγλωσσον ὀπτῆρες πῦρ γάμους ὡς ὑ κλῶψ
Ἔσηλθ' ὁ δοῦλος, ὑδ' ὑπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς

Τὰς μὲν δὴ ἀδίκως βωμὸν ἐπ' ἰζὴν ἱκέσθαι
Ἀλλ' ἐξελάσωσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ ψαλίδ' ἀμφὶ θοῆσιν
Θεῶν πυρηφὶν χθόνος.

I ſaid before, *ſuch or ſuch*, becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only ſix *viz. Miſericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ conlocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci*, an example imitated by other People, almoſt in every country: for they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition then a man. ὄχι δὴ καπνυγὼ μὲ δὸς πίτεαν, ἀλλοι λέωμὲς θοῦν. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſſe they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to doe eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to doe.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4.

Ito Herclè aliquò quæritatum ignem
Ignem magnum hîc faciam ---- and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſhe ſtring her ſelfe by the altar of *Thetis*. Πῶς σοι περσῶσω ---- on which the *Scholiaſt* thus Ἔθος τῶν τοῖς βωμοῖν καθαρδίγειν πῦρ περιφέρειν, &c. And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners, were not ſo afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of Ἑφέστιοι, which they have from flying to *hearths* the place for the fire, for refuge, as *Themiſtocles* did, who being *Oſtracis'd* and baniſh'd, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. otherwiſe none that fled thither, could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him: inſomuch that thoſe who kil'd the followers of *Cylon* (though they plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they kil'd them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers* of ἀντὶ

ſupplica-

ſupplications. prophane, I ſaid, for it was no better then prophanation, according to the Poet, στέφη μιαίνεϑ', the Garlands are *Polluted*. *Eurip in Heracl.*

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and Men, us'd to goe with στέφανοι Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands * ἵνα αἰδέσιμοι ϑεοῖσιν ὦσιν, ὡς ἱκέτευον (ſaith the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles*) to beget reſpect, and amuſe the beholders thoſe green boughs are call'd by the ſeverall names of θαλοὶ, φυλλάδες. ἱκτῆρες, ἱκτήσιοι κλάδοι, and ſometimes ἱκετεῖαι for * *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father ſhe would make her own body ſupply the roome. * *In Oed.* Ita *Aul. v.* 1216.

Ἱκετείαν δ' γ' ἔχουσ' ἐξάπτω σώματι
Τὸ σῶμα τἄμὸν -----

In thoſe boughs they put wool, (as we doe ſilk in poſies) and ſo calld them εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas lauros*.

Λύτ' ἐμαίσω σωφρόνως ἐς ἔμβολον
Ἄρχῃ τὸ μαλλῷ: *Æſchyl. in eum.*

The wooll was not tyd, and ſo faſten'd to the boughs, but only wreath'd aud wrap'd up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* (v. 31.) calld it λῦσον ἄλυσον φυλλάδος, the *Tye without a knot*. The Romans uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſaies

Iamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practiſe of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurell* or *Olive*.

* *Vittatæ lauros & ſupplicis arbor Olivæ.* * *Stat. Theb. l. 12.*

Firſt becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς, *not ſubject to withering*, and therefore [a] *Euripides* gives the later the epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly Belauſe the Laurell was a ſigne of *prevailing*, and [a] *In Ion. v. 1436.*

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies, *per quam pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whō they Petition'd, or of the statue of the god, just as * *Lucretia* did, γονάτων ἅπτῆ λαβόυσα but if hopefull, the *hands* b ἐξικέσθαι τ' ἐμῆς χλιδᾶς δίγων and if confident the *chinne*, and the *cheeks*, καὶ σεσὶ γενείου. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his ῥαμ. (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prayes for a *Gale* of successe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deni'd the parties *consent*, they touch'd the head to have it *annuere*, when his helpe, his *helping* hand; when successe, the knee. the Last I know no great *reason* for, but *history* enough, even from the *Naturall Historian* himselfe. *Hominis genibus quædam religio inest observatione gentium, hæc supplices attingunt ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* all his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossâ, ceu jugulo spiritus fugiat.* and therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ* the Petitioners gods to be lame. as good as that of *Zenobius*, ὅτι οἱ κεῖται ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφει, *because* Iudges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

* *Dion Halic. l. 4.*
b *Soph. Oed. T.*
* *Eurip. in Heracl.*

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the person of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet, as those did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου καταφιλῆσαι καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently term'd *labratum*, the *old Glosse* calls it φιλῆμα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀσπασικὸν βασιλέως. I have read of a kisse of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with puting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they us'd in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in * *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, nescio. Si deos salutas, dextrorsum, censeo.*

Xenoph. l. 7.
* *In Curcul.*

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

fire, for thither they presently ranne, when they came to any strange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the house, and the gods thereof: for according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his house*, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus uniu cujusq; civium, hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournfull posture as might be, they need not open their mouths for pity, neither was it the custome so to doe. for those actions speak loud enough, and an eye would serve for the hearing.

Τῶ δ' ἄντω, ᾧ ἄναυδοι ἵφ ἑσθῆ αἰζάντες
Ἵζανον &c.

This was the * practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*, but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, ταύτῃ μείζω ᾧ μᾶλλω ἀσφᾶ ἀναπεῤῥητον ἡγεμένων ἱκεσίαν τῆ Μολοσσῶν, the only *way in use among those people to obtain a request.* L.4. *Argon.* * *Odyss.* 7. *Thycdid.*

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for helpe, their fashion was first to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crown'd with successe.

* Πάντας ᾧ βαμοὺς οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Περσῆλθε κ' ἀξέστεψε, ᾧ σεσύξατο
Πλόκους ἀπορῥίζους μυρσινῶν φόβλῃ. * *Eurip. in Alcest.*

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their *armes* right toward heaven, as * *Helen* saies

---- δυοῖν ἀλένοιν πρὸς ὀρθὸν ἄγαγον
Ῥιπᾶσδ' ---- * *Eurip. Helen* v.1100.

But to wrest their *hands* as farre as they could upon their wrests, according to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had ty'd him fast to the hill, his stomack was so great, that he said he scorned to submit. or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and Children

child en. Γυναικονόμοις ἐπιτάσσομαι χαλᾶν.
Now sometimes it they obtain'd their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred, or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generalibus & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. εὐκλαῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings.* services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

* *Ovid Met. l. 9.*

----- * *Cenæo sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi. ---- 2ly τὰ Ἀποφατικά, *such as were imposed,* and *commanded by an Oracle.*

* *Sophoc. in Trach.*

----- * Εὐκταῖα φαῦλα ἢ τὰ μαντεῖας πρὸς.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1° χθονίοις to the gods under ground, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch dig'd, or plow'd up for the purpose, the Latines call'd it *Ara*, such as they us'd when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also Ἡρῶα Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay to set it forth. 2ly Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. and 3ly Τοῖς ὑπερίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βώμῳ, upon an Altar rais'd up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ὕψος ἱερὸν. and [c] χαλὰς ὕψος, as if it were a *worke vallum* or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is set downe by the *Scholiast* on *Euripides*

[a] *schol. on Aristo. in Avib.*

[b] *Soph. in Trach.*

[c] *Eurip. in Heracl.*

* Euripides thus. Βωμὸς is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeverall ſteps ἐχαρα as it were one ſtep it ſelf, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (juſt as they made their Λάκκοι [d] wherein they powr'd oyle and wine, and temper'd it with the duſt, to make cakes for the divell) The occaſion given him to make this diſtinction, was the words βώμιοι ἐχάραι in the Author, where upon hee notes that ἐχάραι was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a Statue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ὀπτείων ἑψημάτων χύτρας ἀνημμενὰ ἔιδη, for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the [a] gods.

* *In Phœniſſ.*

[d] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ.*

[a] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

----- τὰς χύτρας αἷς ἅ δὲ δὴν
Ἰδρυσάμεθα, λαβοῦσ' ἐπὶ ἅ κεφαλῆς φόρει.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be call'd χῶμα or tumulus, as it uſes to be. ſometimes of aſhes, ſometimes of earth and bloud temper'd together, ſome times of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. for the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometime ſquare, but moſt often * Κυκλοτερὲς. round as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of * *Sophocles*, ὄρη ζηνὸς ἀφίσιον πάγον &c. πᾶν ὄρος τὸ Διὸς ὀνομάζῃ ἐπὶ ὑψίσῳ ὄντι τοῦ Διὸς ἐυὔφη δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς θεὰς αὐτὸν, *every Mountain was called by Jupiters name, or conjecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the God being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better: as it was to the terreſtriall gods in a low, to come the neerer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be got up upon, and prophan'd, as being to be kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀσύβηλον καὶ ἄβατον, *holy and untoucht.*

* *Odyſſ. ϛ.*

* *In Trach.*

317 In respect of the time, some doe say that they sacrific'd to the *Hero's*, * ἐς δυμιαῖον αἰγᾶν *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

* *Pindar. Isth.* Δ.

Lastly in respect of the matter or the thing sacrific'd, it was either ἀπὸ ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life, and those either ξηρὸν dry, as corne and flower, or τὸ ὑγρὸν wet, as Wine or Milke or Hony, usually called by the name of χοὰ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing, and so was all for his ἀγνὰ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀναίμακτα θυσία, (as Thucidides calls them) where there was no smoake, or * ἀπύρους θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλοκλὴς θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice*, sometimes greater then a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat, and sometimes but a τριττύς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as a hundred, notwithstanding --- πολλάκις ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Comissaries, unlesse they were robd of their due, as it seems they were sometimes by him in the Poet, threatning to complaine of one that did so.

* *Suidas.*

* *Aristoph. in Equit.*

* Καὶ σὲ φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι
Λωποδυτοῦντα τῶν θεῶν ἱε-
-ρεῖ' ἔχοντα χιλίας.

CAP. IV.

De Generibus & formulis jurandi.

* *Hesiod.*

Ορκος an *Oath*, the Son of *Eris*, & yet the *end of all contention* was of two sorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or of the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

* *Idem. in Theogon.*

Αντίον ᾧ τε θεὸς ὄμνυσι θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

Which

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὅρκος *an oath*, frō *Orcus hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Iupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the gods, when he had the aſſiſtance of *Styx*, and his Sons againſt the *Titans*, or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Seruius* ſaies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had ſworn falſe, or broken his oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in hell nine thouſand yeares. which order, even *Iupiter* himſelfe ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſaies, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pœnam præſcius peccorreſcit.* He that ſwore either of theſe waies, was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himſelfe up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he call'd them to witneſſe that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. ſo that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to adde an imprecation of ſome evill, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if he ſwore falſe, as *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγίλαε, καὶ πατρὸς ἠμοῖο.

By *Iove*, *and the ſorrowes of my Father*.

The *Womens* oath was commonly *by Iuno*, and *by my Lady Diana*, as * *Clytemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to ſweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Iupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἑρκεῖος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἑξακεσίεργος. for that *Iupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos iuramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it doe not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *ius iurandum*, *quaſi Iovis iurandum*, it will ſufficiently be prov'd by the plaine teſtimony of the Poet, that ſaies

* *In Elect.*

----- Ζῆνά θ' ὃς ὅρκων
Θρονεῖς πιστὰς νενόμισται. *Eurip. Med. v. 170.*

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Iupiter*, that not only, any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be deified, did

ſerve the turne, as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. thoſe that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleas'd to be try'd by, in this manner, ὄμνυμι σὲ τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay, *Ile lay you what you will*. This forme you may find uſed by *Plato in Phædro*, and by *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of * *Euxitheus* to *Pythias*. ſometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant, and ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διοσκόρω *Caſtor* and *Pollux*) --- * μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς ---- by *the whole jury of the gods*, neither honeſt nor true, only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Dei conſentes*, and ſo they put them together. Other times againe, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belong'd, expreſſing his name. for ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν. *by Mercury*. but then you ſhould have ſome, that out of meere *deiſidemony*, would ſay no more then μὰ τὸν -. *By &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐπινοῶ μὴ ὀνόμασι, with a * religious *apoſiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it ſelfe, * μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

* *L. 2. Ep. 2.*

* *Ariſtoph. in Equſt.*

* *Ariſtoph. in Ran.*

* *Pind Nem.*

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE cuſtomes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publike manner, & by way of vindication of the truth, were theſe. The gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χλιεας Αστυνομ. little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeverall places. Men when they ſwore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we doe upon the New Teſtament: whereas in a leſſe, or in a private oath made to ſuch or ſuch Man, by way of a bargaine or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they layd their hand, upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This ceremony I remember *Menelaus* in * *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* beſides the words of her oath. * *Helen. v.* 854.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐμῶν, δεξιᾶς ἐμῶς σέβε.

2ly To honour the gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrific'd the life of *one* of theſe three beaſts, κάπρος, κριος, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goate, or of *three*, and of every ſort one, or ſometimes three of one of the ſorts, as *Atraſtus* was made to doe of three Sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*. ---- * κριμὸς τρεῖς τελεῖν μόλον πεμὼν which they called μολοσφαγεῖν. Sometimes when they killd a Boare, they cut out the ſtones (ὅρκος & ὄρχις are pretty neere kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. a Ramme or a Boare thus us'd is properly call'd πρώτα perhaps they uſed to ſacrifice Pigges chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. and good reaſon choyce ſhould be made of that beaſt, rather then any other in ſwearing too, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes, as ſolemne as that. for 1° *Iupiter* was nurs'd by a Sow, (ſay ſome) and conceal'd by the noyſe of the grunting, and therefore with the *Cretians* his Countrey men, there might be no initiation without it. 2° *Varro* * ſaith, *pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum a ſuillo*: that it was the firſt beaſt that was Sacrificed, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* σῦς, and *Sus quaſi Thus*. nay it was a creature ſo greatly ſacred, or imploy'd to a ſacred uſe, that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is us'd for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be * *Ariſt. in Lyſiſt.* * *Eurip. Suppl.* v. 1200. * *De Re Ruſt.* *Clem. Alex in Strom.*

* *Aristoph. in Lusist.* * eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish, for
* *Eustath. in Il. γ.* either they buried it in the * ground, or else threw it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrific'd at an oath of *Agamemnons*.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the Little oath (*greater* and worse then the other, if the god had been God) was when they swore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly so much) such as *per Cramben*, or by a Goose, or a Dogge, κύων vel κῶν, as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their own Master, who (as it is in the Scholies upon * *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κρανεῶν, had told them that *Rhadamanthus* the justest man that ever liv'd, had expresly forbid them to sweare by the gods, but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dog or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as * *Hippolitus* does in *Euripides*.

* *In Avib.*

* *v.* 1025.

----- χθόνα χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might heare them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.

* *L.* 2. Which was the reason (saies * *Athenæus*) first, why they accounted the head ἱερόν, holy and sacred. 2ly Why they did σφαγιάζειν τοῦ πταρμοῦ, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eat of the head of any kind of creature. and 4ly Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἄγγυον ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἄγγυον ὅρκον σὸν κάρᾳ κατώμοσα.

Eurip. in Hel. v. 841.

The

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great oathes too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes, creeping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυδρὸν they calld it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* * took the Sunne to be) ſupposing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) πρὸ μὲν ἀνόχυς τὸ ἁμαρτήμαν ἐν τύπῳ μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the paine.* thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among our Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. for *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground, and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond, holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without ſwimming. ----* μέχρις τι μίνῃ μίλας εἰν ἅλι μυδρὸς Sometimes (as I have known Boyes doe among us) they wrot the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwamme, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true; but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediatly without more adoe. and this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adraſtus*, and the *Argivi* for amity and League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall

Μνημεῖα δ' ἔρεων, μαρτυρόμενοι δ' Ἑλλάδι.

to be produc'd when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his 8th book *de Clitophontis, & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of Whore-

* *Schol. Euripid. in Hel.*

* *Callimach.*

Whordome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, & having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. if ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remain'd as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀρ'ίζει (ſaies he) the *very Water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leaſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed. inſomuch that ἔνορκος, was commonly uſed for ἐυσεβὴς,

In Plut. Οὐδ' τις ἐνόρκου χάεις ἔστ' ὅτις δικαίου. in *Heſiod.*

and ---- εἴπ χαίρεις ἐνόρκοις ἔπεσι. in *Ariſtophanes.*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*, and therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid that they did more hurt to the wicked then others, ſaies he εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ὀμόρκους, *if perjur'd men are ſo lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurted* ὁ γὰρ δρὺς ὀπορκεῖ *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common & cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρρητοὶ, frō Ἀρρητὸς (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for no other purpoſe, according to that of * *Heſiod.*

* In Dieb.

Ἓν πεμπτῇ γὰρ φασὶν ἐεννυας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὄρκον πεπυμένας ----

and

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he ſwore that he never had to doe with *Briſeis*, call'd the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

---- Ἐρινύας τε, αἳ ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeem'd to be ſenſible of the ſinne and ſave the Furies a labour. for I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City of Sicily, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an oath. for if any one ſwore falſe neere theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe there were other means of their owne appointing to affright men from periury. ſuch as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος, πάντων ἐπόπτου ἀγάλματα δύο εἰς ἀπειλὴν εἰδώλων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegicall verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt to invocate that god in falſhood. All this mov'd the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them. *Pauſan. in Eliac.*

Οἷον ὅτι βωμοὶ, ὅτι πίστις, ὅδ' Ὅρκος μαχη.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας μὲ ἀστραγάλοις πολεμίους δ' Ὅρκοις, *fallere oportere pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leschis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable *and so he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greeke*. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute beasts. for the first you may heare it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀποδημίαν ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροὶ ὄντες ὥστε μηδαμοῦ ἀλλαχοῦ φίλους εὑρεῖν. *How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else.* For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Authour. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the house for killing a Sparrow, that being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter Ὡς μὴ ὅσια δεδρακότα,

a Phot. cod. 1591.

ωστε, (saies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* ὐχὶ σφόδρα χαίρει ἀλλ' ἐπιμέμπεται τῇ ζώσῃ, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to *his* conditions. The last is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner as the Ramme was, ἀπετυμπάνισαν. The goodnes of his nature among his companions, appear'd either in eating and drinking, or merry talking and discourse. for there is εὐωχία ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*, *good cheere* in words, as well as in meate and drinke. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of words*, *Plautus comedere sermones:* and it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they prated so much as by all mens report they did. for they were so λογοποιοὶ (as the character termes them) so employ'd ἐν τῇ σπορᾷ τῶν λόγων, *in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus*; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either *to heare or to tell some new thing*, that I wonder with what face, they could call St *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. though I know some doe rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγω *to gather*, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς φέρε τὰ ἐμπορεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖς διατείβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort, or Trades mens shops for the meaner, like the Romans Tabernæ. *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec fila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops. and the places themselves, and the confabulation therein they called λόγοι: μαχαίρου λόγοι, saith *Eurip.* and yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λόγῳ too. Now those shops, were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb κυμινοπρίστου λαλιὰ us'd by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as we say *Lye like a tooth drawer*) but especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire, being free for any that would warme themselves,

Theophr.

ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod* l. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον δῶκεν &c. Τὰ παλαιὰ (ſaies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα ἢ πάντα τὸ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἀθύρα ἦν, ἃ ἢ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. & to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Il. Θ. Οὐδὲ θέλες ἐνδειν χαλκῆον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠὲ σιδηρεον εἰς λέσχην.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lunâ Caprinâ* (as they call'd it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and idle, well befitting ſuch *Gerruli figuli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe, eſpecially being conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος. ſaith *Suidas*, but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνέιος, ſaies *Meurſius*: the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meeting were or ſhould be in the day time, and ſometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently, but once a day at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeverall places) it is not eaſy to determine. ſome ſay, there were foure meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διανιστιμὸς, the *Breake-faſt*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. δόρπον, the *Supper*. juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκρατισμα. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. Ἐσπέρισμα, or (*Veſperna*) 4. δόρπον. others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. δόρπον. you ſee that δόρπον is the laſt meale ſtill; *In Veſp.* and ſo it is in *Ariſtophanes*, who after δόρπος ſupper time, makes it to be preſently Bed-time. To any of theſe meales if they came too late, they call'd it παραδειπνεῖς, or παρασιτεῖν; which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them; *Sympos. c. 4.* as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh-market, and therefore termes thoſe whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell* κωδώνους ὄξει ἐ ἀκούοντας.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feast, and thus to spend the mony, was especially called ἔρανος and δαπανᾶν, and the merriment it selfe, by the name of * ἥβη, which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the gods at a feast: and from whence ἡβηβος came to be used for a little cup to drinke healths out of. Now a feast was of three * kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Τάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwise called * συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἤγουν ἐκ κοινοβολίας ἢ ἀπὸ φιλῶν τινῶν, was when they joyn'd or clubb'd for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his part, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast: the earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dati annuli, loeus, tempus constitutum*; and sometimes any other thing, which he that laid out the mony for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or doe what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς ἀπὸ διονυσοδότης * ἔρανος, was becaus every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called ἀμβίδιατοι * *Sodales*. Sometimes they call such a feasting κατάβολον, from *joyning* as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into one purse. καλῶμεν καταβόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δόδοντες ἕκαστος ἐν συμποσίζωσιν, saies *Tzetzes* upon * *Hesiod.* and so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ σποράδος δόντων, from σπείρειν, becaus the charges came *scattered*, or *sown* by severall hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ἡ θίασος (they say) has been used for the same, θιασῶται for the company.

* *Schol in Aristoph. Vesp.*

* *Eustathius in Hom.* * *Aristoph. & Schol.*

* *ibid.*

* *Festus.*

* L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a breefe and large commendation in *Hesiod.*

Μὴ παλύζειν δαιτὸς δυσπίμπλαθ' ἕτι
Ἐκ κοινῆ πλείστη ἢ χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλίγη.

Be not averse from common feast; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the chere.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very wedding dinner in the manner of an ἔρανος, and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be διπόσπους, as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a Wanfare at his own cost*. This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be nam'd πανδαισία, for * *that* is either when there is meat of *all sorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they sit *high* pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Ἑκαλίη (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελὴς: it was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν, the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in *companies*; ὅτι κατ' ὄλας, ἢ ἁμᾶ εἱλίσσονες ὄπιον, or 3. From ὄλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in the dances, * ἁδαμὰν ὑφορεῖς ἴλαι. The company at such a feast were called λαπτάδες al. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very neare friends, according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his booke. *Nam neq; inconvivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examin'd concerning the same. besides those Officers, there was an εἰσάγων too, to see how oft, and how much every one dranke, and if it appear'd that a man was any way ἄσωτος, or intemperate, he was to be punished by the *Areopagus*; which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μισογεωμῦ-

ζας

a *In Craff.*

* *Schol in Aristoph. Pace.*

* *Pindar.*

ζεις, and μαλακτρῶγας, as if they were niggardly in their diet: but if they were indeed such bite-figues, and cummin-cutters as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them, (σεμνὸν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Phyſick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the Last indeed very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed, that commonly either the later followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a piece of the victime. * L 4.

----- καὶ τὸ δ' ὕστας
Ταῖς Νύμφαις. Μέρους καλὸν κρέας αἰτῆσαι πάλιν.
----- as soon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd give to *Mirſon* too.

CAP. III.

De more Salutandi, Symposiarcho, coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHen the guests were come, the manner of saluation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them; and such a kisse as this they called χύτραν φιλεῖν. The fashion of kissing the lipps was but of later daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum* upon any thing so it be *from* the *mouth*. anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body, as *Xuthus* deign'd to doe to *Ion*. *Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.*

ὡς χερσὶ φίλημά μοι σὸν, σώματός τ' ἄψαι πόθῳ. *Eurip. Ion. v. 518.*

Embracing was the most usuall salutation, insomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word ἀσπάζεσθαι used to signify to *Salute*, does properly signify to *embrace*, as being * *On Aristoph. Plut.*

deriv'd

deriv'd (saies he) ἀπὸ τῆ ἄγαν ἐπαῖδω ἐς ἑαυτὸν ὑπερον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually τιμιε, *vir honeste*, worthy Sir, rather then Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in Supl.

---ὃς ἐυτυχήσει τίμιος γεραίρειν

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the household-stuffe, and the like, according to *his* instructions in * *Aristophanes*.

* *Vesp.*

Ἔστιν ἐπαινέσαι πρῶτ' χαλκωμάτων
Ὀρθρίων ἀνάσασι ---

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Master of the house shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for συμποσίαρχος the *Master*, was many-times no more then a Master Steward, or * συμποσίου ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his γεγραμμένον brought him in by the Cooke, a *note* containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Moderator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be Βασιλεὺς *King*, and he to whose lot it fell was to have the whole command of all for matter of drinking, or ceremonies without any restraint; which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannicall* as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς, *to take the drinke in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

* *Pollux. l. 2. c. 1.*

C. 8.

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankinsence and Myrrhe upon the hearth; either that the sence of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, (ἵνα σὺν ἡδονῇ ἔσται for * *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods, to whom, before they eate any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. but how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

* *Athenæus.*

Il. 10.

---ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε δυλλας.

The

The Guests before they sate downe, used tocrowne their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle. for so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. --- σὺ δ' ἔκτα μυρσίνης πλόκους. *bound* his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to *seame* it from aking. and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to restaine the heat of the Wine. neither did they *crowne* their heads only, but *anoint* them too, as if they had been going to *wrestle* with the strength of the liquour: for so says *hee in Vespis*.

---- γυμνασικῶς
Τὴν κύτλωσον σαυτήν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this trick too it seems.

--- *habent unctæ mollia serta comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores and let them out as soone as they came. for the same end was it, that the hearb *crambe*, was so much used in *their* feasts, as it was also among the Ægyptians: and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow neere it: which antipathy (they say) has been in it ever since * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting downe all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkennesse, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe* so called quasi Κορίμβλη, from κόραι, or *Pupillæ* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which 'tis thought to be hurtfull.

Besides anointing there was washing too, both before and after meat. *that* before had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεὶρ νιπτὸν, the *other* they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

* Καταλύσεις ἀπὸ κρατῆρος. Sates the Scholiast upon *Aristoph. in Avib.*

* χ. On *Aristoph. in Equit. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Their *posture* at eating was lying upon κλίναι *beds* (imitated by the Romans *lecti*) with a ψιάθος a *matt* * close by, which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλίναι, were usually cover'd with skinnes, according to that in the * Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

* *Poll. l. 6. c. 2.*

* *Aristoph. in Eq.*

Γόγχαι μιδύων ἐν ταῖσι ῥύρσαις ὕπτιος.

and some times with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertain'd in * *Homer*

* *Il. 10.*

----- τάπησίτε πορφυρέοισι. The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes, and therefore *Silenus* in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) Θὲς ᾧ ἀγκῶνα ἰυρύθμως, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a θρῆνυς, or a foot-stoole, such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷ κὰν ἐπιζοίης λιπαρὰς πόδας εἰλαπιάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespæ*, asking how he should sit, was bid γόνατ' ἐκτείνειν, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*, unless the man were of a higher *Stomach* then he that said *Sit mihi mensa tripes*, for then it might be of another fashion, but usually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called ὅλμος (in imitation of the *tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion, so as not to have any uncivill or prophane, or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it, for why (saies *Synesius*) it is holy, and consecrated to *Iupiter* φίλιος, and ξένιος: Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* Πῶς δ' ἄλας, πῶς τράπεζα, πῶς σπονδαὶ. and to *Iuvenals reverentia mensæ*. The * first that ever dared to prophane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his son,, and serv'd him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

a Π. Παρ. *Sat. 2.*

Paus. in Phoc.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Grecks (they ſay) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maſts and Acornes for their bread at leaſt, if not for their Meat, and there were βαλανεῦται people employd of purpoſe to gather them, there was no *cereale ſolum*, in thoſe daies, no feare of *menſas conſumimus*; 'twas enough for the luxury of *later* daies, to make *paniceas montas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allnſion to the uſe of this food * *A. Gellius* ſaies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victuſq; antiquiſſimus quernus capi ſolitus ſit.* *in remembrance of their oaken diet.* After maſt, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. for that kind of corne was the [a] firſt in uſe. afterward, when fine Wheat, & teeth came up, it was made a puniſhment to uſe it, as [b] *Suetonius* ſaies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of uſing corne at *firſt* before that mills came up (ἐν μύλοις; ſaid to be firſt invented by *Mylas*) was to roſt it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth, & then *pinſere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. thoſe that did this the Romans called *pinſores*, which afterward came to *piſtores*, *bakers*. We read of קלי *parched ſtuffe* among the Iſraelites too, even there where we read of flower, and ſo it was not for need that they uſed it. in time it came to varieties, and I alſo might ſay a great deale concerning them, as likewiſe of their uſuall diſhes at feaſts, both of fiſh and fleſh, but you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paine, and leſſe profit. only I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a beaſt, the braine might by no meanes be ſeen upon a table, for they loath'd to eate it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*, and thought that none but he that had loſt his ſences, would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

* *L. 5. c. 6.*

[a] *Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.*

[b] *In Aug. c. 24.*

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

2. Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

which all the *senses* had their *life*. nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine*, might not be in their mouthes to *speake* it, as well as to eat it. and therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head*. In Trachin.

Κύμασι δ' ἁλὸς, μύελον ἐκπαίσῃ μέσου
Κρατὸς ----

Hecuba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ὀσίων ἐφάπτειν φόνον, adding withall εἰ αἰσχρὰ λόγῳ *with Reverence be it spoken.*

But as for the Entralls, ἀλλᾶντες, no dish so common as that, insomuch that you should have some covetous fellowes make a feast of nothing else. such a feast they call'd more peculiarly ἔρανον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was serv'd up in dishes of wood, or of brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke* which they had at feasts, during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water, to allay the strength of it, and this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphictyon* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Citties called *Concilium Amphictyonicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Red-sea* into *Greece*, the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead-drunk, and some raving mad. others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they return'd againe, found some of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, παραυτὰ μὲν ἄλυπον ἔσχον ἐπόλαυσιν, notwithstanding felt no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the reason, that at the first bringing in of the κεκραμένου, or

* L. 15.

mixed

mixed wine to the table, they used to remember Διὰ Σωτῆρος. *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, & the *mixture*: to which they added the *health* Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου. if the feast were a *victors*-feast, and ὠρᾶν γάμου, if it were at a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. and yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third *round* to be to *Jupiter Servator*

---- τῷ Διὸς σωτῆρος

Σπονδὴ τείτῳ κρατῆρος.

Presently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus* whereof (it may be) προπόσις, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the *first* tast before they went to eating used to be the great *Crater* being fill'd, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor; this health is called *Poculum* not *Charitesis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, and so to drinke it ἐπιῤῥοφεῖν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering, as he saies. Σπονδὴν λάβε, τῷ σατίωνι ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, & many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθέ. some say this health was at the beginning of the feast. but they did but sip at it, & therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονισαὶ, for ὀλιγοποσίαι, *little drinkers*. The last health of all which they drunke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreams *Aristoph. in Eq.* * *In Vesp.*

----- Ἀγγελιαφόρῳ

Οἱ πυμάτῳ σπένδουσιν ----

for that was the reason (saies *Atheneus*) διὰ τῷ Ἑρμῆν ὕπνου αἰτιάτην εἶναι. yet some say it was διὰ τὸν πλοῦν Ἀσκός, the bottle or vessell out of which they fill'd the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare, and therfore in *Lysistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is call'd by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *blood*, and the powring it out σφάγια *slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they call'd it φιλοτήσιον κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν, a *cup of good friendship*. and such kind of expressions ἀξιώσεις, *takings or pledgings*, according to that

---- χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι
δεξιόχαρ' ἀλλήλοις ---- And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. but if he drank a health to one whom he lov'd (ἑρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himselfe, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himselfe waking 'till morning, had a συηρμός, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, just as the women used to have in the *Thesmophoria*. in such mad fits as these they were wont to have γρῖφοι, riddles propos'd, which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup, and if any one were weary, he might not depart unlesse he had leave, (perhaps it was unlesse he *took* his leave) of the Master of the feast. and heare I might easily speake enough of their Κότταβοι, but I think a *little* is sufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cupps wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes. ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν, insomuch that the word κερᾶσαι, to fill drink, seem'd to be deriv'd from κέρατα these hornes. *Scilicet*. hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls horns*, nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occasioned some to call him downe-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull, and the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυροποιὸν τῆς πόσεως, ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τὸ οἶνον ἔχων strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his liquor. but the best is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs) Ποππεὺς δ' ἐν χείρεσσι κίσσινον λαβών.

Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, ſpetting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentle-man (or a *Senior*, in whom nothing is *freſh*) and to him it was a glory αὐ μαλακὸ πτύῃ, ſaies *Stobæus*, to ſpet ſtoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it *clarè excreare*. But paring of nailes was ſuch a ſordid thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Heſiod* (as 'tis thought) long ſince *ab-ominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it to hit his meaning?

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πυγοδόκοιο δαὸς ἐνὶ δαιτὶ δαλεῖν
Αὖον ἀπὸ χλωρῆς τέμνειν αἰζηοὶ σιδήρῳ. *L. 2. Oper.*

Nor from the *five-branch'd greene* doe with a knife
At feaſting cut the *witherd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφορητὰ, choyce bits, or ſuch dainties as they lik'd beſt to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat baſe, and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly black-moores, after the faſhion of the Romans

----- *tibi pocula curſor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus offea Mauri.

Your *meſſes portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choyceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent: for ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrific'd at *Corinth*, and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding

Ἔπεμψέ σοι γυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα
Ἐκ τ' γάμων;

And

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as *Elkanah did to his Wife, and also at festes (as those were bid to doe by a Nehemiah) used to send מנות portions to them for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greas'd their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they call'd the bread from ἀπομάσσειν *to wipe*; such a thing as their Cookes ταῖς or χόβμαξιν, *course bread* which they had for the same use.

* 1. Sam. 1. 4.

a Nehem. c. 8. 10.

The *desert* consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of junkets. they call'd this service, by the severall names of * ὄψικλα τρωγάλια ὀπτοζύματα ὀπτοκόμματα ὀπτόρτημα, or μεταδόρπια, *Epidorpia mensæ*. And now to crowne all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls * ἀναθήματα δαιτὸς, (usually accompanied with ἀκροάματα, merry songs, and tales) because they themselves spent most time in *practising*, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating.

* or ὀψίκλα

* *Coronas Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Platos Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a *Feast*, and *Euripides* say it were better us'd at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry; yet you shall find *Xenophon* himselfe in himselfe commending, & *Phemius* in *Homer* practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick, (whereas at *Meale-time* lesse cupps would serve) *then* to have greater, and a *fresh* bowle (κρατῆρα) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observ'd that fashion we read of in *Euripides*.

Odyss. I.

c 6

Ἔστι

Ἐστὶ δ' οἷς αὐλὸς ἦλθ' ἐς κατῆρες τι
Καὶ δι' χόρων ἔλιξεν, ἁρπάζων χεών
Οἰνηρὸ σκέλη σμικρὰ μιγαλάτ' ἠφίειν.

* *In Ion. v.* 1177.

The ſong moſt common amongſt them was *Harmodius*, ſo call'd (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death, and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beatify* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully lov'd their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. the beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατ' Ἀρμόδι, οὔ τι σὺ τέθνηκας, &c. you have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus* (for moſt of their ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous worthy or other) it began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον ὦ ἑταῖρε μαθών, τὸν ἀγαθὸν φίλει, τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸν to δειλὸν. for ſo you ſhall find κακὸν, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckon'd *virtutem* (as they call'd it) valour and fortitude, the only virtue worthy the name. beſides theſe two which I have nam'd, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια, I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes* againſt riches.

Ὄφελες ὦ τυφλὲ πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ
Φανῆναι
Ἀλλὰ τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid. Sch. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one * *Terpander*. they were ſo called either firſt

* *Plutarch. de muſ.*

διὰ τὸν δίσκον ἢ τὴν κλίσιν σκολιὸν, faies the Scholiast upon *Rane*, from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the gueſts upon them. or elſe 2ly (as the Scholy ſaies upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the flexuous diſorderly manner in the ſinging: for there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies * *Dicearchus* ἐκ μυρτῶν ᾄδειν) three waies of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt ἐπὶ πάντων, by all together. thed 2d καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they ſate. the 3d One after another but ἐναλλὰξ, not in order, and ἐπὶ ἀντιστρόφου, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chuſe, I ſay to chuſe forin ſinging a *Scolium*, as tis properly us'd, this was the cuſtome. He that *Scolid* firſt, took him a Myrtle rod, called ὄμμακας from ὄσσα and ἄχθω (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*) and holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus*, begun in any place of *Simonides* or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleas'd. the verſes which they ſung, they call'd by the name of ἐφυδρία, or ἐφυδρίδια, or σιγλία, from the σίγλοι, or the rods, as being *aria virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. when he had done, he deliver'd his bongh to whom he thought fit. and he to whom the bough was deliver'd, was to goe on where the tother left off, and thus it went round 'till all had done, and then he tha was judg'd by the company to have come off beſt, and have capt the reſt, had his ὄζος (as they call'd it) *i.e.* a cup, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward, unleſſe they ſung ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was Lawrell, and the prize a Lamb, from whence they were called ἀγῳδοὶ, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after taking away. to have a harp goe from one to another, and every one as he was beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harpe, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* a Crammarian: *viz.* becauſe the eyes and the underſtanding of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drinke become σκολιοὶ, or διεστραμμένοι, diſtorte

* Schol. in Ran.

Euſtath. Il. 1.

χ. Ariſtoph. in Nub.

distorted, as they are in Mad-men, for ἰμμάτων ὀρθῶν, and ὀφθαλμοὶ ὀρθοὶ, right eyes, and a right mind, are well put together. 4ly The ſong was called Σκόλιον. (ſaies the * Scholiaſt) by the figure *antiſtraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and μίλῳ ὀλιγοστιχῳ, *conſiſted but of a few ſteves*. but this etymology in another place of the ſame book is utterly diſlik'd, τὸ γὰρ λόγωμα διὰ τὸ ἐναντιώτατον μεταλαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν πολλῶν, *becauſe that figure Antiphraſis, is alwaies by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name*. *Origen* (they ſay) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriz'd all ſuch things, as ſeem'd to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. * *Pericles* is ſaid to have made his Laws, in the manner of *Scolies*, I think not for any obſcurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

a Schol. in O d. Tyr. * in Ranis.

* Ar. Ariſt. in Ran.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not oppos' (what ever it may ſeem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μίλῳ (which might be ſung by one alone, whereas the *Scolys* could not) ſo called not becauſe it was ſung *right* along and in order, but either becauſe the perſons ſung ὄρθια, that is (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blaſt*, like the * *trumpet*, or becauſe it was ſung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* ſaies *Arion* playd after that way upon the ſhip, and *Euſtathius* and *Suidas*, ſay that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* ποιήσαι Ἄρεος ἔνθουσον &c. *So mov'd his ſpirit, that he leapt immediatly to his armes and took them up to fight*. Inſteed of *Scolies*, ſometimes you ſhould have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none ſo ſoone as *Menanders*.

* Iudges 7. 5.

But amidſt all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableneſſe and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they ſay was the uſe they made of them) they had their σκάφια, *oſcilla*, or *oſſiſula*, like thoſe which they uſed at Rome at the feaſt *Sigillaria*, or ſuch as * *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have plaid with (*talis aut oſſiſulis ludebat cum pueris*) things ſo artificially made with joynts and pins, that in ſo many throwes

* Suet. c. 83.

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cry'd out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Ægyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin, for he that brought him in, bid every one πίνε καὶ τέρπου, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eate and drinke, for to morrow he should dye.*

Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *god*, was all waies had in so religious esteeme at *Athens*, ὡς αἴσιον καὶ ἀναγὲς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν εἶ ἄν κακώσειε ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* saith upon *Euripides*) *if any one wrongd a stranger, he was look't upon as a prophane curs'd fellow:* according to the Poet himself in another * place.

* *In Helen.*

* *In Taur. v. 468.*

---- Let goe the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

And good reason; for ---- πᾶσι γὰρ δὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες ξένοι ---- all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection, and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as ξενοκτονία. Now this esteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or εὔξενος: you may call him *Jupiter Hospes*, for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Iovis hospitis Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospital people, for *their brutish inhumanity*, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastæ* bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the *strangers*, was better *known* and honour'd then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίᾳ Διὸς πολλαὶ τιμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, as if he

* *L. 10. Fab 6.*

he had car'd more for them then other people.

Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. *Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleas'd with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertain'd by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserv'd the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them τοὺς ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a stranger*. and this made *Aristippus* upon *Socrates* his information presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforc'd with the penalty of publique execrations. *Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν.* *L. de Offic.*

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (because they might not be so *familiar* as to doe it themselves) there were πρόξενοι, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertaine them, unless you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hospites* only such as tarri'd a while and away, but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, or *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came: for those were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the Citty, the Men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes, which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally-slaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Aristotle*, but only (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἄλυξις ἀχῶν, *the out casts and cha*ff, and no more. even the *Cretans* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect, otherwise what meant their ξενικαὶ τράπεζαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept of purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shew'd by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone. * *Isæus contr. Elpagor.* * *L. 3. Polit.* *Athenæus.*

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them the too, which made the Poet (even in Peace) brand them with the name of μισοξένους: nay it is ſaid how that they never made any ἀστοποιήσεις, (as they cal'd it) *free of their city* but only two, *viz. Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But ſtill I hope their ξένους *ſtrangers*, were all one with ἀβαρβάροις *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*. for elſe certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were ſo kind πᾶσι ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called, what were they (think you) πᾶσι ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts*, that had their ἀσφάλειον, or σύμβολον, or *tesseram hoſpitii*, ſome thing or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in curteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exileſment.

Ξένοισι τι πέμπειν σύμβολ' ἐς λεγόντων ἐῶν.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertain'd gueſts (you may call *them* ξένους too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes* perhaps to ſhew their neer relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dio* no leſſe then his life, who though he were forwarnd of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſham'd* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioſo pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα ξένον, to *be-*

ware

ware of one that was his friend and *gueſt* too. (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, * πρῶτον ἐπιχθόνιον ἀρόῤῥον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eat *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cænam*, ſaies * *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyn'd feet on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* and therefore *hoſpes* is ſaid to be deriv'd from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *doore*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he came in, they call'd for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in * *Electra*, ἀκρᾶτον ὄν φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they ask'd his name (ſaith *Athenæus*, οὐκ τὸν ξεναγαθὸν αἰτίαν πυθόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὅ τυχὸν ἐν μέρει. *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* now they us'd Wine rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be, ἀλκτικὸν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, πυρῶδες ἅμα τὸν θυμὸν, &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomack.*

Pindar.

* *In Heaut.*

Veſtus Dictionar.

* *Eurip. v.* 511.

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with was Salt, intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſon'd with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. all the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands, as may be prov'd by ſeverall places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome, παρὰ Ὁμήρῳ δὲ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες λούουσι τοὺς ξένους: ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he) 21 They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers apart from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers, which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the * Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* comming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχὸν, ſo

* *L.* 1.

* *V.* 543.

auſit

unfitt to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there says) was therefore about to be gone againe, replyed; *no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.*

Χωρὶς ξενῶνες οἴκοις, οἷς ὁ πανάξιος. *For we have Chambers on the other side of the house which wee keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.*

3ly When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Orestes* had at his being in *Athens*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849. ---- ξένια παροτρύνουσά σοι
Παρέχειν σίτων ----

Lastly they had τὰς Κεκρίδας *places* allowed them at the *shewes*, institited by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house, as at his coming into the Country, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse

Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Cadmus agit grates, peregrinæ, oscula terræ*
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq; salutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς, unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place*, as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*, and as they themselves if they had been from home at their returne, were to doe θεοῖς πατρίοις καὶ ἑστίοις (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when hee came to the borders, he kiss'd the ground and so took his leave of the *Cenius*, as *Ovid* saies

Id. Herc. v. 609. --- *dant oscula terræ Troades* ----

Met. l. 13. Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an uncivility to detaine him: this *Menelaus* himselfe practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξένον παρόντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα δ' πέμπειν.

At parting they usually gave ξενήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was

was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hoſpitall maintain'd by the City, where if any ſtrangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magiſtrate & be righted. Indeed a murtherer or ſuch like perſon, they might not by any means πυκὶ δέχεσθ (as he * calls it) cutertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum*. The firſt that ever built a *Xenodochium*, was *Hyrcanus*, whom *Joſeph* and *Egeſippus* report to have taken 3000. talents of gold out of *Davids* Sepulchre, 300 whereof he gave to *Antiochus*, to remove the Siege, and build a Hoſpitall with the reſt to make ſatisfaction. * *Eurip.*

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus ſublevandis.

AND now in the laſt place, I have a word to ſay alſo, of the good will, which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. and certainly if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to ſuffer any to become a beggar; of whom *Iſocrates* ſaies in his *Areopag.* πόλει πάλιν ἐγκλήμα, *that he is a diſparagement to the city wherein he lives*. To prevent this diſgrace, every ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poore-mans box*, or a common Treaſury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of Captives. into that box once every month, they uſed εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum*, (as *Plautus* ſaies *verum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πληρωταὶ. he that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸ ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happen'd by chance*; if a creditor, ἔχοντα τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἥλθεν αὖ κομιζόμενον τὸ ἔρανον, *With his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the Pariſh* (as we ſay) * *In Curcul.* *Harpocr.*

for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον πατρῷον, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lysistrate*. If there hapned any controversy in this businesse, there were δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ, Laws and Writs made for the purpose.

* *L. 9. de Leg.* *Plato* speaks very well of this * custome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his answer to *Pliny* approves of it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amiseni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tali Collatione &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *eranus* for their reliefe. for the richer sort were wont every new moone, to make a great feast of Bread, and other course fare: which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them, to call every course beggarly feast, by the nome of *Hecates cena*. but as bad as the fare was, the *person* in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he ---- αὐδᾷ δ' Ἑκάτης ἔξεστ' ὧν πυθέσθαι

Ἔστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἢ τὸ πτωχεύειν βέλτιον &c.

Aske Hecate, and she will tell which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and the *shewes*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the Athenians amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enimies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of Eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις (as they call'd it) that is, they muſt be *circitores*, or *fraxatores*. or they muſt φρουρεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλιν φρούρια, ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employ'd in the making of Works and the like, according to that of * *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two years they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a Shield, and a Speare, and a χλαμυς, *Harpocr.* * *In Eunucho.* *Suid.*

or Coat for a Livery. during these two years, they could not be compelled to fight ὑπαγειοι, *without the Liberties*. but ever after 'till forty they might. and both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two years, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἐπ' τότε ἐπωνύμε. *such a one in pay ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus*, to shew how long every man had been in service. of these ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the nũber of the years from eighteen to forty. they are call'd ἐπώνυμοι λέξεως, from the λεξιαρχικον ἢ ἐγγραπτεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old; and sometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικίας, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*, in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῆς φυλῆς, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from the service: the former were such as Custome-holders οἱ τὸ πίλῳ τελέμενοι, who therefore had the priviledge ἀτελείας: or the χορδωπὶ. i.e. οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντες, *Bacchus his Salii*, or *daunting Priests*. The latter were, οἱ δῆτες, slaves and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be employ'd but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐν καπηλόγῳ ἐγκρίνεσθαι, which the others had: for *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, ὃ καταχύσαντες τὰ ὅπλα, were listed by the Ὁπλόμαρχος, or Generall (as many as he καταλέξειν made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the Καταλογεῖς, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having besides that another πίναξ or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the Generall, they were to be listed againe by the under Officer, the ὁπλῖτ, or the foot by the ταξίαρχοι, and the Horse-men by the φύλαρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much Armour, βαρυπάνοπλοι ὁπλῖται, and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly Ψιλοὶ, *Levis*

Ulpian ad Oly mph.

Aristot de Rep. Ath.

Demost. in Mid.

Levis armaturæ milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carri'd Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. and 3ly Πελτασταὶ, a middle sort between both, with their πέλται, or ἀσπίδιαι, *narrow Shields and short Speares*. Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χήμασι καὶ σώμασι (saies Xenophon) *able both in body and purse*, and therefore were to be examin'd first by the *Senate of* 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες *skittish*, or Ψοφώδεις (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-proofe*. and this they did τῷ κώδωνι καὶ ψόφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπολεῖσθαι *Walk the Round*, to try whether the Guards were a sleep or no, which thy called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

---- Κωδωνοφορεῖται, πάντα χῶ
Φυλαχαὶ κωδωνίζουσι ----

Insomuch that Κωδωνίζειν is used for the same with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove*, as *in Batrachis*, ὅ τι ποιεῖ κώδωνίσον: and ἀκωδώνιστον, for ἀπείρατον *intentatum*. as in *Lusistrate*, καὶ πείσομαι πάντα ἱλαρὸς οὐ γὰρ ἀσχὴν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾶς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μαθόντας. If a Horse had been τετρυμμένος *worne and beaten out* with long service, they mark'd him in the Jaw with the signe of a Τροχὸς (a wheele I think) and gave gave him his τρυσήσιμον; for so they call'd both the mark and the discharg it selfe: whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοὶ ὀπταλοῦς τρυσήσιμον, to giue a man his τρυσήσιμον, that is his *discharge*. All their Horses the Greeks reckon'd to be consecrated to the Sunne, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israeliticis*, (*quos divinos habere literas fama prodebat*) *quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis sit ad cælestes transiatus* (*vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes*) *crediderunt vicinia decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cælos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because *Helias*

Hesych.

ἥλιος once was carri'd up to heaven with Horses, therefore *Helius* or the Sunne, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

The Horse-men. first, some were δικέχαι, that had two *waies to fight*, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2ly Some were ἵππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horses*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead: from ἄγω. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would μεμπεύειν, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pompe, and triumph with a Coach, and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a ξυστὶς, as it is in these verses. *1. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.*

Ὅταν τι μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐλαύνῃ κατὰ πόλιν
Ἁρπὶς Μεγαλλὶς ξυστὶς ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *auriga* then were called ἡνίοχοι, and were better then ἐφέδραι, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every ναυκραρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *stratii*, or *mercelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often chang'd, I think I had better be silent. and concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phrynis*, forbad them to be ἀκροκόμους, and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ αἰτίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, that the enemy might have no hold-fast, saies *Plutarch* in his *Theseus*, where he saies also that the fashion

faſhion being firſt us'd by *Theſeus*, was therefore called Θησικὸς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vimpropulſabant.

THE firſt makers of Armour are ſaid to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Mettall whereof it was made at the firſt was Braſſe ſaies * *Pauſanias*, but for want of Iron, ſaies *Heſiod.* * *In Laconic.*

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The moſt noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of Maile. The moſt noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Creſt*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore call'd by *Alcæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος the thing, or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtend they called σφήκωμα, and to faſten it σφηκῶσαι.

Πλοκμοὶ δ' ἱππουρῳ χρυσῳ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο. *Homer.*

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon, for if he were an *heros*, it might be treble ſaies a *Euripides*, and *quadruple* ſaies b *Apollonius*. a *In Oreſt.* b *L. 2.*

Τετρήχαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ὑπεσείμιτο πῆληξ.

The ſtuffe whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the haire of a Horſe-taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρὶς, and ἱππόκομοι τρυφάλεια, in * *Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid c τειχορρυεῖν, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare, the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the reſt except the *Penthouſe* πρόγναθον. Of the *ſhield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of ſeverall kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*. * *Id. 23.* c *Ariſtoph. in Pace.* *Æn 7.*

----- *flectuntq; Salignas*
Umbonum crates ----- (but then they call'd it ἴτεαι) and ſometimes of wood, but moſt commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid *Heſych.*

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies, *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seaven pieces of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had tenne. neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

-•- *& æs, & proxima rupit*
Terga novena bonum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

* *Troad. v. 1336.* And therefore in * *Euripides* it is called χαλκόπων ἀσπὶς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. the names of the severall parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L.1.c.10.* Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κόγχυλα ornaments to be seen, and κογχώματα little holes to see others by, set in the τροχὸς or the border: and 2ly For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called χάνδυ, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was inuented by the Cares, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it χειροπρὶς ὄχανον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and

Strabo l. 14. most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Creste into the grave along with him. The *Armes* (τὰ σημεῖα or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulysses* had his διλοφόρβομον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Roust-cock* the *avant coureur* to the *Sun*. but the *Heroes* anciently, as

* *Aristoph. in Ran.* for the most part, used to beare Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπέντας γρυσοτεύκτους χαλκηλάτους. to the Armes, they added *verses* in commendation of the prowesse of the Person, by which he deserv'd those Armes, and the name of the maker; such as *Pau-*

In Eliatr. *sanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *case* or *Theca* wherein the shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *cases*, according to that in

Eut. v. 617. * *Andromache*.

Κάλλιστα τύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι.

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some

L.21.c.14. things which they observ'd to be *ominous*: for as if it happened

pend to ſtrike their knees, they counted it lucky, but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Iupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς becauſe he cover'd it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthæa*. this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingrav'd upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſort of armes) they ſufferd not to have their πόρπακες *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenance) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryd out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Οἱ μοι πάλας ἔχυσι χὠ πόρπακας.

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ χὠ ἀχρεῖον, ὥσπερ φαλεῖς τὸ δημόσιον ἀσπίδος
Ταύτας ἐᾶν αὐτοῦσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναπνεῖν.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three ſorts, the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the Navell to the knees: the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which cover'd halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much us'd by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώρηξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navell, ſo called ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ὠρῶν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, Etymol. and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξας, for to ſignify to be well nigh drunke, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well arm'd againſt the cold) and ἀκρατοθώρηξ, to ſignify ἀκρατεμεθύσους *drunk to the toppe*. now a *Thorax* was either ἁπλοῦς, *all of one piece*, or *plaine* like ἁπλοῦς χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτός, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile) the *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ

σκῦτος) as the *Scuta* were,

----- τῷ δ' ὄφεως σκύτη.

Aristoph. in Pace. So they say that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dry'd and tann'd hide whereof it was made, according to that of *Virgil.*

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls σκαλμάς, by a Metaphore from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* most in use upon their Armes, Clothes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being us'd to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From this *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* call'd their Coate (or Crest, or what is it?) φοινικίδα, in allusion to whose *red bloudy* colour, the Poet in *Achamenjes* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the bloud came, thus expresses it.

Aristoph. in Pace.

Μὴ 'κ καταξαίνῃ τ' ἀΐρεϊ τὴν νεανικὴν φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a φοινικίς.

Idem. Ibid. To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or ἀφοδίλῳ σπαρτίλῳ a kind of *basket*, (*fiscinam*) made of Oziers, (πάγμα) with a long narrow neck, & therefore the Poet having us'd the word γύλιον, to signify such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυλιοσχένας, to signify *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions: the quantity commonly so much as would serve for three daies, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

Those too often repeated *orders for three daies provision.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes* or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time clubbs (uſed alſo for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by *Homer φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, * Il. 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus atq; ita porro
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

But afterward they came to Spears, a weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius*. ἐν ἀργείῳ μυθῷ πέξας τις ὁρᾶν ἀκόντιον δυὸν ἕτερο σεβόμενον ἐσεδμᾶν, where ἐσεδμᾶν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip (and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare*, uſed by *Cicero* in his booke *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerantes*) thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a tyrant, that having kil'd his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crown'd it with Garlands, and caus'd it to be ador'd by the name of πόχον: one would have thought it ſufficiently honour'd, to be uſed by Kings inſteed of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was, or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple, or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλω, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the ſtatue of the god, for ſo it commonly was among the Latines eſpecially; whence it came that *haſtæ motæ*, ſhaking of the Speares, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. for when they ſlept in the field, they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι. which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare, made (it may be) with a *croſſe* for the better hold-faſt (*quaſi*) σαυροτῆρι from σαυρὸς. but *Euſtathi-* Il. 1.

us ſaith it was an Iron with a ſharp taile like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and a hollow head, to ſet the Speare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. when they came home they ſett it in a long wooden caſe, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1. Ἔγχος μὲ ῥ᾽ ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
δυσσέκτης ἔντοσθεν ἰὼξόα ------

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn 12. *Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ*
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they us'd it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to ſignify a *Souldier*. *When* the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word ἴπτεια, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes haire*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they us'd to hang by their ſides, διὰ παλαμάων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields, and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours doe.

χ. on Il. γ.

Heſiod. Ὦμοισιν δὲ μὲν ὄμοι μελανδετον ἄορ ἔχεσκον.

What other offenſive armes they had I know not, but the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive then they.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi bellum, conſulendi deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warrelike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *propere ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, *beare* a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in

their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worse place then a *Temple*,* and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall Ensigne carried by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus* a *right staffe* of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. whither was this to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth?* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but σκάζω my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *soon shot* to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two δεῖπνα a day, which they usually called τὸ πρύτειον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they must needs have warre, yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamation of their intentions before they marcht. the manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the *signall* before a Battle) thereby shewing them μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων τὴν οἰκίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν, what was then a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turn'd to the use of their *enimies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation, considering and examining whether it were convenient or not. the Gods must be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, & all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the * Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the comming of *Euristhens*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per-

* *Demosth.* π. παραπρεσβ.

* *Etym.*

χ. *Homer in Batra chom.*

Diogenian.

* Πόλις τ' ἐν δαπλοῖς σφάγιά θ' ἡμπυσμένα.

ἤκειν, ὅτι χρὴ ταῦτα τίμγεσθαι θεῶν. Συμπολεῖ δ' ἄεν μάντιων ὕπο Τρωπαῖα τ' ἐκθρῶν καὶ πόλεν σωτήρια. χρεσμῶν δ' ἀοιδὰς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἀλίσας Ἥλεξα καὶ βίβλους καὶ κεκρυμμένα, Λύσια παλαιὰ τῆδ' ἐγὼ σωτήρια.

sian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods in case they prevail'd, such as was that of the Tith of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vowes of the like price. nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. for as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνης, till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *seaventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching the Generall used alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον, to *keep himselfe on the right horne or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ἀπλόστεροι) kept themselves ἐν ταῖς μέσαις ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans call'd them) which were lesse in danger. such kind of service was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, and sometimes πρωρεία. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called δοῦναι τὰ διαβατήρια. no passing without a prayer ----αὐὴρ γ' εὔξει ἰδὼν ἐς κελὰ ῥόοιο. the Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auspicari*.

χ. Aristoph. in Eq.
Herodot.
Suidas.
Hesiod. l. 2.
Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu Tubarum.

χ. *in Euripi. Phœn.*

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had kill'd a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*, for σπεῦδε ἐπὶ σαλπιγτῶν, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called σπεύσιν, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in

in the midst between the two Armies, gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo Statius Th. 2.
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ϗ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in his ὕμνων πυρσὸν, seem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. now this buſineſſe they might doe ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀκίνδυνοι for the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*. * ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, inſomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, * ὅλη ὁ πυρσὸς ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Eurlpides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi* avoided them, that is, refuſed to fight.

* χ. in Euripi. Phæn.

ὅτι πυρὸς εἰ μὴ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

---πυρὸς λαμπάδας ἐξέβης κλέων
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.
Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better im my mind then
Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adluſtius eſt, ut credat Fugere &c.)

Nay not only when they would ſignify their intentions to *fight* with the enimy *to the enimy himſelfe*, but alſo when they would ſignify his approach to *others* to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτοὺς, for tis rendred *faces*, you may render it *Brands* or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. and they had men ſtill who did φρυκλωρεῖν keep φρυκλορίας, * *Watches* in the * Towers or forts, as we doe at the Beacons. if the enemy came in the night, they fir'd the Brands, if he came by day, they rais'd a ſmoake. but I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their *friends* too, as well as πολέμιοι, but with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill, but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro.

χ. in Homer. Il. σ.

* Καὶ φρυκλορίας ἐν τοῖς πύργοις. Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwaies, for afterward they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus*. Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πᾶσ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπίφλεγεν.

In Perſis.

In-

In- or *ac cendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphore from the uſe of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceiv'd to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidis* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place. πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦγαγε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας, and therefore he calls the Trumpet, τυρσηνικὴν, viz. from the inventers, as the Poet himſelfe had done before, both in his *Phœniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*, where he ſaies it was us'd when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded * ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before) There was a time when Shields did ſerve for Trumpets, *conchæq; ſonantes*, and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phœn.

* Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμαν ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῆ Σάλπιγγι, καὶ σιωπῆσαν ἀλλήλοις μάχ. v. 830.

* C. 6. 5.

Ἦεν γὰρ πέλτησι δαΐφρονες ὀπλότε χαλκῷ
Τεθνηκὼς ζωὸς θοίγγανον ἐσάμαν.

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum panis & præmiis & Sepultura.

IF it went well with the Army in the Fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was a lorn'd with * Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, us'd to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies; ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ ἦν, ὀπηδήσειαν τούτοις, εἰ βραχύτατον, ἀντιτάξαιντο, if it were good to bring it along the way to them, if not to be there in the way and ſtop it. For cloſe conveying of intelligence, I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies, whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonian* σκυτάλη I know not: if you pleaſe you may read the deſcription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full, or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*, where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Ge-

* Ἐπεὶ κατασχὼν στέφανον ἔρῳ &c. *Soph. in Trach.* χ. *In Ariſtoph. Eq.*

L. 17. c. 9.

nerall

nerall along with him. when they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of a σάνις a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſſe it were rolled up upon one of thoſe ſtaves, and the Parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt or in earneſt I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians among a great many other things out of a *Laconomany* as he termes it, or a humour, like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ἐλαχυτομώντι πάντες ἄνδρες τότε
Σκυτάλη ἐφάμην.

If any one turn'd αὐτομόλος *transfuga*, or betray'd the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. if he had been ἀφελόντος, and *would* not, or ἀλὰς and *could* not fight for feare, or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left* his *rank* or *throwne downe* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred, and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleas'd, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward, *Æſchines contra Cteſiph. Eurip.*

Οὐχ ὃν τιν' ἂν γε ζῶντ' ἑλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maim'd, were to be allowed two ἀργυρίου ſaies *Heſychius*, (but *one* ſaies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publique Treaſure: but firſt they were to be examin'd by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι: now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ὑπὸ τετταράκοντα μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *minæ*. Such as were *ſlaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκουσι τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὀπλίσματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. they had the honour alſo προεδρίας, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhews*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at * *Marathon*-fight) the fa-

* *Vid. ſupr.*

Herod. l. v. 966

Vid. ſupr.

Plato.

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Beere*, as 'twas before to make it his *Cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedomian *virago* to her Sonne, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either thou bring *the ſhield home againe*, *or let the ſhield bring* * *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too, ſometimes, as it ſeems by that ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtyanax*.

* *Arma ſuperveheris quid, Thraſibule, tua Auſon. Epig.* 24.

Ἀλλ' ἀστὶ πάντι, πειθόλοιστι λαΐνοις
Ἐν τῷ δ' ἔπειτα τύμβῳ.

At the buriall the reſt of his company, Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes, and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. but for the moſt part, they were allowed a publike buriall upon the common charge at home in the *Ceramicus* all together, and then three daies before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground, with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne Speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe plac'd in the ἄστυ, and honour'd with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the true old blood*, according to that

Thucyd l. 3.

Eurip. in Phæn.

Οὐ χαλκέοις Κεκροπίδας ὄχμασι ἐγὼ.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorn'd with a golden στέφανος.

Ibid.

Καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὡς ἐμοῖς ὤμοις
Λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

GAP.

CAP. VII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls* of the victory, ἀνίστανο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies* (you may write it τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the moſt * auncient, then that which is neweſt in faſhion) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of braſſe, or ſtone, or wood. and the wood ſometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τούτου οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνέθεσαν, ſaies * *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

---- *Querculi trophæis Curva tremens* ----

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latins: only *that* might be overthrown, whereas *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored againe if conſumed with age or the like, ὅτι οὐκοῦν ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ χαινοποιεῖν δύναται καὶ * φιλαπέχθημον, leaſt they *ſhould* thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge; and therfore ſaies the ſame author, διὰ παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκοῦν κίονας τρόπαιον ἀνθέντες, *thoſe that made them Trophies of braſſe, were look upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophee, they engrav'd an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory, ſuch a one as *Orthryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. for *Pauſanias* having conquer'd *Mardonius* at *Platæa*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup* which he conſecrated to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he caus'd to be made of Gold, and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ φθορὰν ἄλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being diſpleas'd, blotted it cleane out, and inſteed thereof, engrav'd the names only of thoſe

* Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ θυσιῶν ἕνεκα τοῖς θεοῖς τροπαῖα ἐξυπτίαζον. *χ in Ariſtoph. Plut.*

* *Plutarch. in Roman.*

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucyd. l. 1.

*Ἑλόντων στρατηγῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Μαραθῶνι Ἕκτωνι † In Pison.

those Cities by whose help they obtain'd the victory, and so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called* Ποικίλη.

In † *Ciceros* time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off, and therefore he saies that the *Thebans* were accus'd for erecting a Trophee over the Lacedemonians, but instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and sometimes Images to *Iupiter* Στησίου (so called from causing the enimy στῆσαι to turne their *backs* as the Romans did to *Iupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and Ἰόλαος (as I told you before of κρείσσων) good or valiant *Iolaus* erected.

Eurip. in Hercul. v. 937.

----- βρότας Διὸς Σωτῆρ' ἐκάλουν ἵσταμεν.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*,) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi* ἀκροσύρτα, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ἀκρότατα ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰ: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack, only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρου ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθημάτων ἐξ εὐσεβείας διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροῦ σωτηρίαν, because the things were saved from being cast *on shore*. but I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who saies those ἀκροθίνια, or the *first fruits of the spoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles which they had taken together on a heape, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ, they skimm'd away the *Creame* as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. in allusion whereto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

In Odyss. 4.

ἐγὼ δ' γύναικας ἀκροθιναζόμην.

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεντο they *hung up* in their Tem-

Temples, (or else in their own [a] house) as they did their armes when they left the service, as *Horace* saies

---- *Vetianum armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophees, but [b] them all. for that was the custome, saies the [c] *Scholiast.*

[a] Νέοι ἀναθήματα τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῖς ἢ πόλεως ἐπιτρεμέων τὸ μελάθρῳ. *L. 1. Epist. 1.*

[b] Τόξων ἱερὰν παντοδαπὰν ἔχετα πλευρὰν ---- *Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.*

[c] *In Phæniss. Eur.*

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motem furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, doe not seem to have imitated; and so *vice versa*. such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldæi* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Gallicæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetruski* among the Italians: Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* lesse then the *use*, for if we may believe * *Strabo*, οἱ τὰ μάντεις ἐνιῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings.* to a Persian King it was *necessary*, to any other *conveniens*. *Amphilochus*, and *Mopsus*

* *L.* 16.

ſus Kings of the *Argivi*, were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sibyll*. but to a *Phyſitian* it was reckon'd ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰατρὸς a *Phyſitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other which made *Achilles* in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μάντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. credit it had amongſt the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreams, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men* called Μαντικὴ, or from the *Gods* properly called χρησμὸς an *Oracle*; according to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀφ' Θεῶν, μαντεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων. indeed μαντεία ſeems to be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *ſpecies*. the ſame Propheſy which when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was deliver'd by * men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari nec; me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*: whereas in the *other* it could be but *præſagire* at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it * ἀπειρηκότως τὸ τ ἐμ- καλόντες) or ἡ μαντικὴ as *Plato* call'd it (for (as *Tireſias* ſaid) ἐξ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχειν) is divided by *Plutarch*, and by *Cicero*, into firſt τεχνικὴν *artificioſam*, that which is acquir'd by obſervation and experience, *obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c.* and 2ly *Ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. Theſe two *ſpecies* are ſaid to be ὁ ἔσωσεν ὁ δυμὸς μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeath'd to *Jamus* his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infuſed faculty of Divination, moſt properly called μαντικὴ proceeded firſt *à motu furente*, from a *phrantick motion*, which though they took it for a help to Prophecy, yet it ſeems rather to have been

[a] *In Oed. Tyr.*

* *Ennius.*

* *Plato.*

Eurip. in Bac. v. 299.

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah* c. 44. v. 25. said he would *make their Diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himselfe saies 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit divinos assecutus sit*, that he that hath lost his own sence, *should be able to know the sence of the gods.* hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men, such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of sixe men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next, and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion, and then they call'd it ὀνειρωξιν, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling downe the hill.*

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority, such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Prophesying his Sounes death as he went to *Troy.* or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny; or else of greater so as to command a beliefe, such as the Sibyll women had, or the *Pythia wench*, who deliver'd the Oracles; which was nothing but a cuning trick *à vafris quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, vented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this that * *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam, Pythia had it inspir'd, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* then in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Dodoneum*, and *Iupiter Hammons.*

* *Cic. l. 1, de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first: it was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

mony was called *Pythia*, i.e. Either from *Python* the ſerpent that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came afterward kill'd by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt. or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythis* the ſonne of *Delphus*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delpos* was a fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. and therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον, becauſe it was ὄμφαλος the *Navill*, or *Umbelicus* the midſt of *Greece*, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *Werld*, as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. and this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſaies *Pindar*) *Crowes* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans*, which being let fly by *Iupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to the name of Ὄμφαλος (by which it was commonly call'd) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill-ſtring. but *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. and *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neq; locus is ſit terrarum medius neq; umbelicus ſit in homine medius*. but the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſame ſay) was *Tellus* πρόπολος γαῖα, and ſome *Themis*.

Ἠρχὴ μὲν οὖν ἐδείκνυτο βοσκῆς μανῆναι δ' ἀγέλης.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. when the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there comming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noyſe. he that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frollick, but prophecy'd too, and thus it far'd with divers others that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. nay a grat many with the *breath* (ἄθμα μαντικὸν or *umbelicus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the Earth *expired*. inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-* *Diodor. l. 6.*

 footed

footed ſtoole upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common *name* was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out; for (ſaies *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, only Apollo*, Τὰς φαντασίας πέμπων, καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παρὸ τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellowes to let her a *peeping*, or a *whiſpering* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפִים in *Iſaiah* c. 8. v. 19. where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμύθους, or *belly*-Prophets that *peepe* and *mutter*, ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake his Prophecyes with a ſmall peeping voyce like a childs. but in another place he comes neerer to us, ſaying, *thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voyce ſhall be as of one that hath a familiar ſpirit out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpeake, was a pot fill'd with *duſt*, throw which the *afflatus* the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo goe forth at her mouth for an Oracle; and therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and στερνομάντεις, as well as πύθωνες, and * κληδόνες the manner of her ſitting &c. when ſhe took the *ſpirit* in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the * Scholiaſt, Ἐπαθουσία τῇ πεπλῇ ἡ διαῤῥήσασα κάλπιν ὕδατος παῖδα διὰ τὴν γυναικῶν ἐλίχνευ μοῖραν, καὶ τὰς τρίχας λύσασα, καὶ ἄφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πέμπουσα καὶ μαίνουσα τὰς μαντείας, ἃ μᾶλλον μανίας ἐφθέγξατο. She was no ſooner inſpir'd, but ſhe fell a tearing her haire, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting he fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Sectis namq; humeris & utroq; manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* but this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that Prophſyed in that place was *Phaenomoe*. all the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe wa

* As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed chriſtian in the Towne of *Barwick*.

* C. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

* And *Euriclide* from *Euryclea* a Prophet of that name.

* *In Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

L. 1. c. 21.

was till *Echecrates* a Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbas*; and then they made choyce of Women of fifty years of age, but made them goe in the habit of a Virgin. The * cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtoole* to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their haire in the fountaine *Caſtalius* (where the Poets a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

* *Sch.* on *Eurip. Phœn.*

---- *κόμας ἱμὰς θάσσει* --- when they ſate firſt on the ſtoole, they uſed to ſhake * the Laurell-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies *μασσαμένη δάφνην*, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to doe, and therfore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra κωμὰν δαφνηφάγον*.

* *Sch.* on *Ariſtoph.*

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them was *Pernaſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſus* from *λάρναξ Deucalions Arke* that reſted there. *fides penes autorem.* As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover* --- *tripodes Cortina tegit*)

It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Luſiſtrate* to have been *θύλη* a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filld with *ψῆφοι*, or *calculi*, *cuts*, or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the Pot, (*ἥλοντο*) or leapt and danc'd in it when any one came to aske, according to the ſignification they bare made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three leggs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called *ἐλμός*, (as the table bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ἕλμιος*, and his Wench *ἑλμία*.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to goe to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek then they were before. but that they were re-

ſolved to be fool'd, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. Tis his ute

Senec. Oed. Act. 2 Sc. 2. *Ambage nexa delphico Mos eſt deo*
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, ὅτι παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲ αἰνίγματα γεγράφασι. in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles: now the Oracles, were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies

---- dicta per carmina Sortes. for *Sortes* they uſually calld them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν δ' πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not heroick enough to become the author. * *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place. μίσθωσι δ' ἡυθμὸς ὅτου ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐπιπλέκοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* but one reaſon why they deliver'd their Oracles in verſe, or in briefe, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was becauſe the god ἀφανίζειν μὲ ἐ θέλει τὸ ἀληθὲς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it deliver'd in ſuch manner as nobody might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwer were not according to his mind. Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed alredy by *Plutarch* in a treatiſe of purpoſe.

* De Pythiæ Oraculi.

The eſteeme which they had of thoſe Oracles was ſuch, that in times of Warre when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. for they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral-gazer* himſelfe, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*,

Polyæn. l. 2. 27.

that

that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill-will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little or no credit to be given to any other Propheſy beſides Apollows own.*

---- ϛοῖβον ἀνδρώπους μόνον
Χρὴ πιϛεύειν, ὃς ἂν λέγῃ ἀλήθεια.

And yet it is cleer that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit* but indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time.* nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeake as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was brided by *Clyſthenes*, to perſwade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. neither would *Lycurgus* call *Apollo* Καρδῶον θεὸν for nothing. *Plutarch. de Herodot.*

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave and put it upon her. and likely enough. for ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe.* and that, First becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in *Latine.* 2ly Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. and 3ly Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time. *L. 2. de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALL this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for feare of ſaying too little. ſo famous and ſo rich as it was with the guifts or ἀναθήματα, of moſt of the Princes or People in the world; inſomuch that *Aſiæ thetoriæ opes* (ſo ſaid

from Ἀφνεώς (the name of *Apollo* who was *emissor Oraculorum*) hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at severall times. the first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fiels*. the 2d of *Wax and Feathers*: or else faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, because the mans name was *Pterus* that built it. the 3d of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ χαλκίοικος*) this some say was molten to ground, others that it was swallowed up by an Earth-quake. the 4th of stone destroyd by fire the first yeare of the fifth *Olympiad*. the 5th built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the Temple, and the E. I. in the frontispiece, the reason whereof is disputed by * *Plutarch*; but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customes which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him either to *Delphos* or to *Delos* to doe him honour, or to aske his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaire, or for delivery from sicknesse, or the like. when they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they return'd againe καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embasses *extraordinary* to Delphos, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia-feast* once a yeare, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes Δηλιασταί, from the feast, sometimes Θεωροί (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπός in *Pindar* (*Pyth.* 7.) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angell* the *Crew*. he that had the ordering of the businesse was called Ἀρχιθέωρος, such a one as *Andorides* said he himselfe had been. There were also sent along with them Κήρυκες Μουσικοί, two that were to be Σπονδοφόροι, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorn'd with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the head,

¹ *Pausan. in Phoc.*

* ἐν τῷ E. I. τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς

* head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ σῶμα, ἡ τεμαχὴ, ψυχὴ, in allusion to the three parts of the soule. The ship was likewise called σωρὸς, and sometimes ἅλιος. It was wont to be *Theseus* his, in which the Boys were brought that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the Plays, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliaste*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὡς καὶ πᾶσι φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸ παραδείγματα λόγου ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐκφέρειν τὸ πλοῖον ἕν τε μένειν αὐτὸ, καὶ μεταβάλλειν τὰ σανίδια λεγόντων, *Insomuch* (saies *Plutarch*) *that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, notwithstanding continuall decay by this similitude.* besides this, there were foure more *naves sacræ*, *viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called πομπεῖα: for when they came thither, first they * Sacrificed, and then the Maids sent thither from severall places, fell a Dauncing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which the called Γέρανον, *Gruem* the *Crane*, wherein, their motions being crooked like the cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings & windings of the Minotaurs Labarinth: beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of Olives with their hands behind them (as our boyes doe at *Snap-apple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

* Παῖδες δ' ἱερὸν ἄμπυκες ἀγλαὸν ἀμφὶ κέρασσι μίτρας. *Apollonius l. 2. Argon.*

Thucyd. l. 5.

* Ἐμπύρεις πομπεύσαντες. *apud Pind. Olymp. 11.*

Πολὺ μέγα νῆσο Κυνθὸν ὑπὸ πλαγῶσιν ἅλιξαι
Ῥηγνύμενον δικαίοις ἀγλαὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ἀπερθέμεναι &c.

Hymn. in Del.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμός, and therefore called Κερατὼν because it was made by *Apollo* at foure years old, of the *hornes* of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* kill'd a hunting upon *Cynthius* hill, the hornes were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo*, and yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis ἀμφίλαιον, whether it should be rendred of the *right side*, or *right*, that is, fit or handsome I know not. but so strangely were

were theſe homes joyned together without any Cement, Glue, or tye, that it was reckon'd for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights* Ἐν τοῖς ἕπτα χαλκόποτος θαύμαν as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeram ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy daies no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment, by which means * *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty daies, ἕως αὖ ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἵκηται, ſaith *Xenophon*. when the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeyſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

* *Plato in Phædone.*

*Ἀπομν. l. 4.

In Hippol.

Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμοις
Πύλας ἀνοῖξαι' ἀφόβους παρεστάναι.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe is uncertaine, ſome ſay *Alexander* put it downe, but it appears to have flouriſh'd after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies it was when *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. when it left Delphas it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*, for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the reſt. and it was their faſhion to ſend guifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. but what need we dout of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aerts.

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras. Claudiani.*

---- *Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodes Cortina tegit, non ſpumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanos mendax Dodona vaſpares
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle-place, (τὸ ἀνάκτορον or χρηστήριον) of *Iupiter Hammon* is thought to have been at firſt a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham* or *Ham*, but afterward abuſed by the Devill to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *hight*. *Dodonas* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *Schoole*, *viz.* for the ofſpring of *Dodanim* Nephew to *Japhet*. but for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in Epirus, and there uſing the voyce of a man among other good inſtructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, neare unto which this Oracle was. theſe two Oracles are reckond the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two the laſt. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τῆσι περιστερῆσι ἐγχωρίσαντα τοῦτο ἐν Ἕλλησι χρήσιμον. *Herodot.* And therefore a word or two more of it then I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women-prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from Ægypt (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignify a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſaies, that in the *Theſſalian* Tongue *Old Women* were called πελειαί, and *old* men πελεοί, and that thoſe Prophetеſſes being three old Women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppos'd to be Doves. The ſame author alſo ſaies, that perhaps thoſe Women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men and women) for the rude brutiſh language might have been counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the names of Doves. and therefore *Lycophron* *In Il. ξ.*

phron calls *Caſſandra* by the name of φάσσα *Palumbes*, though in another place ſhe have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.* φοιβόλαλος χελιδὼν the Swallow. the Scholiaſt upon Sophocles (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more beſides that which I named laſt, *viz.* that theſe Propheteſſes had the name of μελίσσας, or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of μέλισσαι, becauſe they were πεπολιωμέναι gray hair'd and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of foure Prieſts called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερόν, from the *fennes* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying

----- ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοὶ

Νίπτρα δ' ἐπιχθονίοις ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαὶ εὗδον.

They uſed not to waſh their feet; and lay upon the ground when they ſlept. when they gave anſwer, they got them up amidſt the bonghs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. they are call'd ἀγχιτόκεσσι δρυσὶ, and μητρυιαὶ δρυὶς, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called * λάλησιν πίτυν. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſins of Braſſe, one juſt againſt the other πεφαλλήλων ἡμίσεων, ſaith *Euſtathius*, of which if you ſtruck but one all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noyſe, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. belike they uſed to ſtrike theſe Baſons as they uſed to doe other Baſons and Pots, with a ring held by a thred in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the veſſell ſo many times, to make a Divination by the ſounds.

* *Cæco Tomuri Iovis augure luco Arbore ſi præſagâ tabulas animaſſe Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per Somnium, ſuper Meloten in Templis, cum obſervatione diæta.

PRophecying by a *Dreame*, was either ὀνειροπόλου, *Somniatoris* of a *Dreamer of Dreames*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris* of an *interpreter* of dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of when ſhe ſaid ὡς μοι κρίνων τοῦ ὀνείρου. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other ſort of *Ariolation*: for he that ſhall object, that ſpeaking but *ſometimes* true, does not argue skill, becauſe *ſi ſæpe jactaveris quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be anſwered with this queſtion, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* beſides if it were no Art, what talke we of *Xenophons* dreams in his ſervice with *Cyrus*? or how came it, that there were ſo many bookes written of this ſubject? for to ſay nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpoſe of it, nor of the Treatiſe περὶ ὀνειράτων reported by * *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his bookes, *Artemon Mileſius* wrote two and twenty bookes of it himſelfe; and there is a very pretty copy of about foureſcore *Senarii* verſes in Greek, touching the ſignification of ſuch or ſuch ſight in a dreame. but the dreame (you muſt underſtand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vaine* dreame (for ſo does the Etymology import. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἀληθοῦς εἶναι, ſaies *Euſtathius*) but ὄναρ, or ὄνειρος, a *Morning dreame*, freſh and faſting, ſuch as ὕπαρ is, ſaith * *Homer*, which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπαρ εἶναι, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος, which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνίπαρ ὂν ἐιρῆσθαι, and of ſuch is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἄγγελε μελλόντων ἀνυπνοῖς χρήσιμε μύθοις. I believe few that read me are ſuch as *Plutarchs Thraſymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dreame, and therefore I will make bold to detaine them the longer. It is variouſly conjectur'd T.

[a] *Hedr. Ion. animad.*

* *In Pompeio.*

* Οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐτύμως τόδ' ὄπωπα. *Hom. Odyſſ.* τετελεσμέν.

Lib. 1. Divin.

Lib. 7. cap. 5. who was the first *conjectour* in this kind, * *Pliny* saies *Amphiction*, *Deucalions* sonne; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been Deified for his skill; and that they used to sacrifice to him when they looked for a dreame. they talk that the People that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this worke; and so were those that lived at the * *Hiblæ*, two Cities so nam'd in *Sicily*. but amongst all, the *old doting Women* were best at it,

* Pausan. Eliac. Propertius lib. 2. El. 4.

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dreame a Propheticall dreame, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece: for thus the *Daunii* used to doe in the Temple of * *Calchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melotæ sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulcher of *Podalirius*. and it seems it was a common practise both for dreaming, for *Virgil* also saies,

* Ἐγκοιμῶνται δ' αὐτῷ μήλινα δείρατα ὅτι μαντεύονται ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ ἄδυτον. Strabo. 6.

--- Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosq; petivit.

And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skinnes of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. nay there was no small use of fleeces and skinnes in severall other businesses: as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd *mad* tricks with skinnes: for among them if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himselfe, he would sacrifice an Oxe, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyle it, and sit upon the skinne with his hands behind him, and so begge for help: then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skinne, promised either Men or Armes, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast

Cæl. Rhodig.

engage-

engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſſe. Sometimes they would goe & ſleep in a Temple with Lawrell, or ſome ſuch fatidicall ſtuffe tyed about their heads, & ſacrifice to * *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea*, to watch for dreams. ſo if any were *ſick*, they would goe and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to *dreame of a remedy*, (as they have us'd to doe with us, to goe watch at the Church dore, to know who ſhall dye next) *Plutoñ Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

Κατακλίνομαι δ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἀσκληπιῷ.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. but *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declar'd the vanity of all this doings in ſaying, *Sat. 6.*

Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſq; facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtaine from Wine for *three*. as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit; *Ariſtotle* ſaies there is no credit to be given φθινοπωρινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreames in the Autumne*. but *Plutarch* queſtions that againe, * *Sympos l 9.* and ſaies if we eate good and ripe fruit, ἄριστον ἀπεπλοῖς χ' ψεύδεται ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσμεν, *our dreames will be the truer*. *Fiſh* either they counted very good or very bad, for when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boates full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt I cannot tell. * *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dreame*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*, and therefore compares Poetry to it when it is not moderately uſed. Some choyce there was alſo of the *colour* of their Clothes, for the whiteſt and cleereſt was beſt, τοῖς λευκοῖς χάλλιστον ἐν ὕπνῳ φάρος, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and the Viſions muſt needs be the *cleerer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνυπνίασις) or the cleareſt * viſions were either a litle after it was day, or towards the

Cæl. Rhod. l. 27. c. 10.

Lib. de aud. poet.

* Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἐν ὕπνῳ μαντικὴν. *Athenæus l. 8.*

morning (the formes time *Homer* calls πυλὰς ἀμολγὸν, *the milking time in the Morning*, in oppo ition to ἡμάτιος ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the evening*)

---- ἔγγυθι δ' ἠὼς
Εὖτε κ' ἀτρεκέων πεπαίνηται ἔνθεν ὀνείρων.

saies *Theocritus*, and *Ovid* was of the same * mind. *Pliny* saies a dreame is never true presently after eating and drinking. but *Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἄμετροι θοιναὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῇ ἕω παρίχνιν ἐθέλουσι τὸ ἀληθὲς, for if *you eat too much, the dreame will never be the truer if it tarry 'till morning.*

* Ὅτε δὲ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπέπνυτο πυλὰς ἀμολγῷ *Odyss. δ.*

* *Nanq; sub eundâ jam dormitante lucernâ Tempore quo cerni somniavere soleant.*

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two distinct doores for them to come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory; for thus much much *Penelope* her selfe could tell *Ulysses* (when she desir'd him to interpret her dreames)

Odyss. τ.

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι πεπύκασται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

Ausonius saies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the false.

In Ephemer.

Et geminas numera portas, quæ fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerat superaera somnos
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.

And I have heard of some Heretick Christians that have believed the same. *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doores, they used to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a black, and a *horne* in his hand. The doore for the *true* dreams was of *Horne*.

Ἀτλαντίδος θράσσουσα δι' ἐυκεράου πυλεῶνος.

Nonnus dion. δ.

(surely this was made of the hornes of the Ramme when they slept upon the fleece. of which before) The doore for the

the *false and deceitfull* dreams, was of Ivory, such as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozend with in the Poet.

Μορφέα δ' ὑποπέμπει παρήορον· ὄψις ὀνείρου
Καὶψιν ἐλέφαντος αἰ ἀίξασα πυλάων. *Nonn.*

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Mocyllus* for wishing his dreame-doore were of *Gold*, whereas there were but those two in all, as may be gather'd by these words in * *Plato*. Ἄλλο τι ἐμὸν ὄναρ, ἔστι δὲ κεράτινον, ἔστι δ' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. The reasons of those names I find very prettily guessed at by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at that place above commended; and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true (saies he) comes in by the Horne-doore, or ἐκ κέρατος, because τὰ ὄντα κεραίνουσι, or κεραίνει, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they say no more then comes to passe; whereas those that come in by the Ivory-doore, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρουσι, or ἐλεφαίρουσι, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly Κεραίνειν ὀπτικῶς, the *coming in by the Horne* is as much as coming in *cleerely*, for one may see throw horne, if it be made thinne. ἐλεφαίρειν, the tother *confusedly*, for one cannot see throw Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milke or the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does Interpret * it too. 3ly By the κέρας, is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κατὰ μέρος τὸ χιτὼν, *cornea tunica*, the first *coat* of the eye. and by the ἐλέφας, the mouth, or the *Ivory-colour'd* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχρωτες ὀδόντες, and so the meaning must be, that which is to be *seen* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *said* to be so from the *teeth*, & this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction upon those words of *Virgil*

Sunt Geminæ somni portæ &c.

4ly By the *Horne*-doore may be meant the passage for the more heavenly and Diviner sort of dreams, ἐνύπνια ὀπτικὰ, or φάσματα: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι the more earthly, grosse, and confus'd. because the Elephant's *Proboscis* turnes downeward towards the Earth, whereas the hornes

* *In Charmid.*

* Speaking of sleep saies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quietè ad verum usque aciem animæ introspicientis admittit, de cornu creditur cujus ista natura est, ut tenuatum visui pervium sit, cum autem à vero hebetat ac repellit, obtutum, eburnum putatur, cujus* &c. *l.* 1. *c.* 3. *in Somnium Scip.*

Hornes of other beasts look upward toward Heaven. 5ly ἐλέφαντος, is the doore for the false dreames, because there can be no other but false dreams expected when the *Teeth* have eaten too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these dores, were thought to be *Ghosts and Spirits* from hell. *umbræ* shadowes they might well be, such as ascend in a *fume* too like Furies from the *neither* parts of the body. againe as Ghosts are

* *Homer. Odyſ. 4.* ----* ἦμος ὀνείρων, said to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίφοιτα ἀλάστορα, *night-walking bug-beares.* flye they did with *black wings*, like batts of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* ταυνόπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνόν. If this be so, the reason why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they used to sacrifice a Victime to *Mercury* was it may be not so much because of his *rod*, with which he brought people a sleepe, and awakened them againe, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts. for what reason soever it was, it seems *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleepe: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, & the last health that went round was his; for so we find *Calastris* in *Heliodorus*, ὁδὶ πάνυ &c. after he had prayd to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for ὄνειρον νυκτὸς, *a night of good dreams*. hence was it that they used to fasten τὰς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῶνες. When they sacrificed that *victime*, they used to take the tongue and * burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated, ὡς τῆ λόγιν ἡ ἑρμηνείας ἐφόρῳ, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, with whom agrees *Athenæus*, ἐφορεύοντα ἡ αὐτῆ αἱ γλῶτται διὰ τὸν Ἑρμηνείαν. others who did not think dreams to be Ghosts, and yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

L. 3.

Suidas.

* *Ex. on Odyſ. 12.*

* *In Plut.*

Plato

Plato, who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. and ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſaies that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame κατ' ἐισκρισιν ἢ εἰμαρμενην, or (as * *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατ' ἀπορροιας ἢ εἰδωλων, *according to this or that compoſition, or ſeparation of Images, or Ghoſts, or phancies*, or ſomewhat. but indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy, proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe *without*.

In Odyſſ. δ.

* *De Placit. Philoſ.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum luſtratione.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, ſaies *Euripides*, and the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ἀπὸ γὰρ γῆς αἱ βοσκαὶ ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν βοσκῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, *becauſe from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleepe, and from ſleepe dreames*. Some indeed thought they were ſent from *Hecate*, (and ſo they might come from the earth ſtill) and ſome from the *Moone*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *kinds* of dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. φαντασμα, 2. ἐνυπνιον, 3. ὅρασις, 4. ὄραμα, 5. χρηματισμὸς. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὸς, and διαρρηματικὸς ὀνείρους. διαρρηματικοὶ, were ὅταν τῇ ἰδιοφυΐᾳ σῶμα περιστοιχίσῃ, *when things appeard in their own likeneſſe*. ἀλληγορικοὶ, were when they appear'd in the likeneſſe of *other* things, when one thing was dreamt and another meant, ſuch as *Cæſars* was, when he dreamt that he lay with his Mother, and ſo was inform'd *Imperium orbis terræ futuendi quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the diſtinction of dreams was ſo ac-

curate, that in the making of them *Somnus* was fain'd to have no leſſe then three ſervants to wait upon him. for if he would have a dreame that ſhould concerne *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*: if *beaſts* of *Phobetor* (as *men* calld him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* calld him) *Fit fera, fit volucris* ---- *Ovid. Met. l. 11. f. 10.*
if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant animâ* ----
of him that had the name of *Phantaſos* (I wonder how he could remember all theſe ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as darke a denne as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fain'd to be.

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy if I meet with none of the beſt? Yes, by all means as ſoon as you riſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuffe*, *diis penatibus*.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg 29.
Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæq; ſibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.

or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξικάκειος, or προσκυνέιος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the Porches. Some had rather doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Iupiter*, as *he* does in *Plautus*. but there is better reaſon why they ſhould doe it to the *Sun*, *viz.* Ἵνα ἐπιδὴ ἐκάστοτε δεῖ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποχωλοῦ ἐρρώσθαι, &c. *Becauſe the Sunne being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* they are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* --- ἁλίῳ δόκιμον τοῦτο ῥέζειν, &c. they call'd this action ἀποπομπάς, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀπερρόπους * ἔρευγον ὄλιν, but moſt properly ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ it was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe, although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe. *In Electr.* ** Eurip. in Hec.*

Ἃ γαστὶ δ' ἦκεν νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα *Idem in Taur. v. 43.*
Λέξω σοὶ αὐδήν', εἴτι δὴ τὸ δ' ἐς ἔπος.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the

the cold River till you ſweat.

----- *ſub lucem ut viſa ſecuent,*
Oro cælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne. Sil. Hal. l. 8.

Or if the River water be not good enough, goe to the fountaine, as he did in * *Æſchylus.*

Ἐγὼ δ' αὖ τοῦτο χρὴ ποιῆσ' ἐγὼ
Ἔλαυσα πρῶτ' εἰς δυσμαλῆ χλόην
Βωμῷ περίστιν ἀπορῥύτοις δάμασι
Θέλουσα δῦσαι πλάστον. * In Perſis.

If you think no *cold* water will doe it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

---- ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄγετε In Ranis.
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς αὖ θεῶν ὄναρ ἀπολύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into Ægypt, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſſe, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelfe in the Sea, and being by that means cur'd he preſently gave his commendation of it.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. after murther (for other ſinnes they ſcarce thought great enough to *coſt hot water*) it was a common practiſe; and then no feare of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

λίμασδ' ἀγνίσας ἐμὲ
Μῦσιν βαρβάραν ἐξαλίνσασθαι θέλῃς.

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificiosâ, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technicall* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts, besides which were φήμαι or κληδόνες ominous words or things σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆρες lots, πτέρυγα tights, and indeed ἄπειρα μύρια (as the Scholiast saith upō *Homer*) infinite many more, but the two first were every where most in use. *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum, aut Auguriis, aut sortium prædictione moveatur.* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled; and the *Lacedemonians* had so great esteeme of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. it was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adiecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*, so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, & *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling them the number of the years that the Warre should last, by the number of the Sparrowes destroy'd by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Il. A.

Cicer. l. 1. Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

Il. β.

Nam quot aves tetro maculatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for griefe because he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(ſay ſome) oe how many Figues upon the figtree (ſaith *Heſiod*) which *Mopſus* with whom he conteſted, was able to tell. The name they call'd it by was ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστικὴ. it was οἰονιστικὴ at firſt with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῇ νῦν χρήσει πεζομένη αἰ ξυμπάσῃ οἰήσει: but *now* (ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega*, τὸ ὦ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is ſtill us'd as the old word was, for any kind of divination, as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* faſhion to weare a white garment (whereas it was purple or Scarlet among the Latins) and to have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the purpoſe, πρὸ δώκης, or δώκης.

Ἰὼ γὰρ πάλαιον δῶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπων ἕζον. ſaies be in *Sophocles*. and the Scholiaſt upon the word δώκοι in *Euripides* ſaies it was a *made* place in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to ſit and Divine. When they went to it, ὅτι οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἐσημειοῦντο τὰ πτήσεις (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carri'd their *Table-books* with them, and wrote downe the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. this and the *ſeeing* too *Tireſias* being blind, and only able to *fore-ſee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was faine to have his daughter to doe *for* him: by which means ſhe her ſelfe at length, after the death of her Father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. yea not only the *habit* of the Greeke *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis ſignis? aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent*, ſaies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & barbaris dextera meliora*: the Romans the *left*; although (to ſpeak the truth, the *ſide* was the ſame, only the *poſture* of the *Augures* was different, for the Grecians look'd toward the North, and the Romans toward the South; and the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſignes*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the *hand's* being left: as a *sinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would: so saies *Festus*; and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra nos dicere etiamsi dextra sint*, but yet this was the manner of speech, *viz.* for the Greeks to call the lucky tokens alwaies* ἀξια *right* (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken when he spake of a Grecian Augury

* Ζεὺς ϑεοῖν πρεσβύτατος ἐν δεξιᾷ σήματα φαίνει. *saies Ajax Hom. Il.* 10.

* *Signa feras, lævumque tones* -----) The Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *læva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unlucky* birds (a word us'd among us for an unhappy *wagge*) they called ἀξυλαίμους, or ἀξύδρυς, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their usuall height or place. this last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

* *Theb.* 3.

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

---- ἐκπλήσσουσί με
Λόγοι παραλλάσσοντες ἀξυδρεῖς φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called ἀκνήμιοι, or κολυπτοὶ *inhibæ*, ὄρκτιοι *arcuatæ*, and ἀσκάλωτοι (as in * *Apollonius*) ab ἄσκαλος *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*, as I told you before. and such they commonly counted those that had long talons or * scratcht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his tent before his defeat; the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what, is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worser sort, and hang them up at the doore, as we use to doe dead Crowes upon a stick in the field to scare the living away, * saies he *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicite prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infaustis volatibus familiæ minantur exitium suis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appear'd in, were called αἴσιοι or ὄρθιοι, that is, such as were not ἀξύδρυς (unseatly or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeard σωφρόνως ἐν ἕδραις, as * *Æschylus* has it, in their proper *Spheare or seat*. such they counted Doves, and the ἔρπη in matters of Love,

* *In Argo.* *Festus.*

* Κίρκον πανδρεῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα ϗ χηλαῖς κέρκον πλοκῆς. *saies Æschilus.*

Metam. lib. 3.

*Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν τινὰ ἐν αἰσίοις ἕδραις *Eurip. in Hec.*

and the Cocks if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of Warre. for hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a victory. *propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere si vicisset.* Cock-*fightings* indeed were usually σάσεων σημαντικοὶ saith * *Artemidorus, signes of sedition and discord:* but then you must except the Cock-*matches* kept once a year in the Theatre and instituted by ᵇ *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians* from whom * the Cock first came into *Athens.* this bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictur'd with a Cock: in so much that it was their ordinary sacrifice to Mars, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἄρεως ἴδιον, *Mars his own bird.* All birds (saith one) were either μαντικὰ, or ψυκτὰ, or σιτάνια. The μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles, the most noted of all: some of them are thought to have had a kind of language which the Augurs came to understand, by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venemous & veneficall means. *Qui credit ista* saies Pliny, *& Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem quisquam ederit intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* Eustathius saies that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus lick'd cleane into Augurs. Ἑλένῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρᾳ ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἀλόντες ὄφεις καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκλιξάντων ὦτα ὕπνου ἐξενίσαντο οἱ μόνοι τὰς ἀφ' ὑψῶν ἀκοὰς βιβλοί. I am glad I am sav'd the labour to reprove those fellowes *my selfe:* for it seems that the wiser sort even amongst *them* did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a birds taile when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer,* and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban *Augur* (who had dissuaded from fighting by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, *you may if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,*

Εἷς.

Lib. 3. c. 5.

ᵇ Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.

* Athen. l. 14.

Rosin.

* Sc. In Aristoph. Aves.

L. 10. c. 49.

Euripides Hecuba.

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Salus populi est suprema lex, and where there is an absolute necessity of fighting or any thing else, there needs not the authority of a Law to back it, nor the face of a bird to countenance it. In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their spectators for their superstition.

Ἐσμὲν δ' ὑμῖν δαίμων ἀρχαῖοι λυδίᾳ φωνῇ Ἀπόλλων
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ ἔφορον ἐν ὄρνις ὅπου κεῖς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε.

CAP. I.

De Extispicinâ, & quibusdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the best part of it) was more common then the former in all places, (*Extis omnes fere utuntur*) saies *Cicero*, and especially at *Elis* by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmessus* in *Caria* much improv'd. *Tiresias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindnesse*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there was none but but * his. *Ulysses* himselfe, was faine to trouble his soule to come back againe to give him advice. The whole businesse of Diviming at the offering of a Victime (for there was some thing else to doe besides poring in the guts) was called ἱερωσύνη: and a very solemne businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast accordiug to that

* *Pindar.*

* τοῦ δὲ παθόντος νόον πόρε περσεφόνεια ὅπως πύθοιτο.

Hom. Odyss. K.

---- ὅππως πρόσθεν ἱερεύσομεν.

Eurip. Elect. v. 835.

Θυσία, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφιβολὰ, and the act of cutting ἐπιστιγμὸν. the signes observed were most properly called σημεῖα, and the observers σημαντικοὶ. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill ſignes. for the two latter of them you have ſadly expreſs'd in the ſacrifice of *Ægyſtus*.

---- πᾶν ᾗ σῦμ' ἄτω κάπω — *Ibid.*
Ἠσπαιρον. ἐλάλαζεν ἀνδρῶεκον φύτω

Ill ſignes I ſay *thoſe* were, and ſo was any thing elſe that either was contrary to nature or uſe, or put themſelves to any trouble. whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with eaſe, the beaſt not ſtriving, and the blood preſently *darting* out, as it is ſaid it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

----- αἵματος δ' ἔσσῦτο — *Idem. in Hel. v. 1603.*
Ἰὸς οἷ δμ' ἐσπίπτιζον ἔσω.

Somewhat there was too, which they obſerv'd in the very ἁλιασμα or *wagging* of his * Taile, whence that in the Poet.

----- Ἦ κίρκος πῶϋ καλῶς; — * *Ad Ariſtoph. Pac.*

The beaſts which were thus uſed were anciently Sheep, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they ſay) made uſe of Sowes, and the *Jamidæ* of doggs; which was the reaſon why * *Thraſybulus* one of that pedigree was pictur'd at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him diſſected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his ſhoulder. — * *Pauſ. in Eliac.*

In *Fiſſiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took moſt notice of the *Liver*, which * *Philoſtratus* ſaies they accounted the *Triplis* (as it were) or the *chaire*, and the *key* of the work. for they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the reſt of the body muſt needs be ſo too; inſomuch that the work about all the bowels was call'd ἡπατοσκοπία a *looking* into the *liver*. the Concavous part of the Liver was call'd ἑστία *familiaris*, becauſe the ſignes which they obſerved there, concerned *themſelves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* ſide, ἐχθρολὶς or αὐτοκάπης *hoſtilis*, becauſe the tokens in it concern'd their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *ſeat* in which all the parts of the Liver lay, was called Ἄξις or ἀρχὴ: the place between the parts in the middle πυ- — * ὃ δ' ἔπειτα φασὶ καὶ αὐτὸς μαντικὴν ἔχειν πάσαν ἐς ἥπατα ταῦτα. *Heſych.*

* χ. ad orat. Demoſt. pro Coron. λαῖα, and εὐρυχωρία. * *Heſychius* calls it ὀλὴς or ἐκβολὰς, *Euripides* πυλὰς.

---- πυλαὶ χ' ὁλαὶ πύλαι
Κακαὶ ἔφασαν τὴν σκοπὴν σχεῖν σχολὰς.

If there were ὁλὰς (as they calld it) too much myrrh, or ἀμὸς a rye between the parts, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβον or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill ſign, according to that of *Appian* τὰ τοιάδε ἄλοβα οἱ κίνδυνοι ἔλαβε διὰτε, τὰ ὁλόπεζα ἢ οἷς διάκαιρον αἰτὸν. this and other ſuch ſignes becauſe they were ſo bad, that they fear'd to *goe any farther in it*, they calld ἀκίλιδα. When they came to handle the heart, they call'd it καρδιάδαι or καρδιαλγεῖν: if it were little, or palpitat'd much, it was an ill ſigne. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (εὐκοιλα κάλα συγκαλύπτει) ſaies *Æſchylus*; and ſo were Σπλάγχνων πτυχὲς. *plaits and foldings*, ſaies *Euripides*.

L. 2.

Heſych.

When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more properly ὁλοκαυτεῖν. at *Delphos* they had πυρκόοι, *officers* of purpoſe for the worke. the *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and kept in a peculiar place. thus in Ægypt they had the *ſeraphim*, and among the Perſians, the fire which they worſhiped under the name of *Orimaſda*. At Athens they had a torch ſtill burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed; juſt as it was at Delphos, and at Rome in the Temple of *Veſta*.

Xenoph.

In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in * *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks againſt all other divination too

* V. 751.

Οὐ δ' ἐν ἄρ' ὑγρὸς ἐλὴν ἐμπύρῳ φλογὶ.

Good ſignes in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without any noyſe, if it continued till all were conſum'd; or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſigne, inſteed of χ'ζειν *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅλως σὺ μαντικῆς τὸ φρύγανον πίδαξαι. *Aristoph. in Pace.*

Now indeed many times ἄλλ' ἤδη ἄσημα ἐμὲ σαφῆ, γίνεσθαι [b] ἐς πῦρ ἐλέπορτες, that is, the priests being *divinarum, fagaces* [c] *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing to be seen in the cutting:* and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wooll (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδετῆς κύστις) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, [d] ᾗ τι τὸ ἔσον ἐκπτήξει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good signe. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἀκρὰ λαμπὰς in the flame: & very good reason, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροί, *for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burn.* Of the Ashes too they took some notice, μαντεῖα σποδῷ, saies * *Sophocles.* In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. and so at other times they used to throw frankinsence and Poppy, and other severall things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *tell the smoake.* Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκυομαντεία or Νεκυομαντία, was sometimes by the magicall use of a *bone*, or a *veine* of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*: or else by powring hot blood into the breast of the carcasse, to make it answer a question as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

----- *Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atraq; sovit
Vulnera. &c.---

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soule*, was thus recall'd to the body (--- *animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes term'd ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *Divining by the Soule* or the *Ghost.* but such as expected any answer thus from the soule then, must be sure to be kind to the *body before*,

[b] *Sch. in Eurip.*
[c] *Sil. Ital.*
[d] *Id.*
* *Eurip. in Phæn.*
Μάντεις μὲν ἐσφαζον, ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμὰς ῥίζους τ' ἐνώμων ὑλοφύτους τ' ἐσαπτον Νίκης πόσιμα καὶ θεῶν ἀοιδούς.
* *In Oedip. Tyr.*
† Καλὸν δ' ἀμαυροῦται σύμπαντα μαντῶν Αὐραῖ· δι' ἀλγεινὰ πλεκτάνων κρύπτει.
Horace.

for *Meliſſa* the Wife of *Periander* refus'd to anſwer him, be-
Herod. l 6. cauſe he had not buried her body as he ſhould. but ſurely
there was ſomewhat worſe then a Soule; elſe what need of
* Stat. l. 4. *luſtration* of the party? ſuch as *Tireſias* us'd to the * *Theban*
King, to keep him from receiving harme. *Hydromanteia* was
ſometimes by *Sea*-water, but moſt commonly by that of a
fountaine, and ſo was call'd ὑδρομαντεία. it was done ſeverall
waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many
a *Poet* too) ἐξ οὗ ἔπινον ὕδατος πάντες μαντικοὶ γεγόμενοι,
ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo.* 2ly By throwing things
into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwimme, as they
Pauſan. in Lacon. did *cakes* in the Well of *Ino*. 3ly By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch
things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the well of *Apollo*
Thyrxeus in *Achaia*. 4ly By *dipping a glaſſe* in the water, to
know what would become of a *ſick* man. for as he lookt wel
or ill in that glaſſe, accordingly they preſum'd of his fu-
ture condition. 5ly By throwing in *three ſtones*, and ob-
ſerving the *rounds* they made in the ſinking. ſometimes
they made uſe of oyle, or of Wine inſtead of Water, and ſo
it was tearm'd χύτλα, as whe it was done in a Baſon, λιθοις
μαντεία. δομαντεία, was by a *Syderitis* a kind of *loadſtone*, which
if they waſht it in ſpring-water, would ſpeak like a child.
with ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the de-
ſtruction of Troy. κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a
Thred, or a paire of Sheeres, and turning round at the
naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. of this
Theoc. Idyl. 3. and I have ſeen it us'd by ſome Women, *impia*
fraude, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not
leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other
waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*, or of
ὠοσκοπία with *Egges*, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a book
of. or of κεδρομαντεία with *Barley*, or of λυχνομαντεία, by the
burning of a Candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Naturall Hiſtory*,
l. 30. c. 11. and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. to which you may adde
their common old-wives *Sawes* concerning Weather or the
like,

like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those *Astrologicall* more and *Rationall*, such as that of *Virgils*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the rest.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*; but there is a way by *words* also; by which, according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. such words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from φάναι (suitable to the name of *Propheta*) as *omen* comes from *ore-men, quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus*) you may render it *voyces* (for so we use to call those Prophetick speeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliq'd, they called λόγ-φημα, and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vexe him, was said to βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaspheam* him, or φόνῳ & βλασφημίᾳ as *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant just as one of the company was going to drinke

L. 1. Divin.

Βλασφημίαν τὶς οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο *Ion. v. 1188.*

The Latines call it *obscœnare*, and the words themselves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *halzening speeches*. such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid, insomuch that they would say instead of δεσμωτήριον *a prison*, οἴκημα *a house*. and so for Ἐρίνυες, Εὐμενίδες, and Σειραὶ θεαὶ for κύνες, κόλακες, for μῦες, ἄγγος, and the like. for there is a kind of words the which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or to speak in the phrase of *Terence*, *Religio est*, *dicere* they made a scruple to speake,

In Epist. ad Cassium.

and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved then εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy-daies) to avoid all ominous expreſſions or κακὰς φήμας (as they calld them) which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. what words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus male ominatis*. only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernement, they had a ſpeciall care to begin with a *Preface* διὰ καλῶν, or τῶν πραττομένων, or ἐκ μὴ κακῶν, like to *Perſius* his *hoc bene ſit*, and that old thred-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix fortunatumq; ſit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to heare them ſpoken. for ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid

Plato l 7. de Leg.

Menſas etiam conſumimus ---- preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his Father laid hold on the *word* and embraced the omen

----ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem, primumq; loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater ----

So *Leotychides* when he deſir'd of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησιστράτῳ λαμβάνομαι τοῦ ὀνόματος: for λαμβάνομαι τοῦ ὀνόματος, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeeck an omen indeed, and *take* it to my ſelfe. for indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Now the way to *ab-ominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat or the

the like; or elſe if it were an unlucky ſpeech, to retort it back againe with εἰς κεφαλὴν σοὶ, *tibi in Caput redeat, let it returne upon thine own head*, an expreſſion borrowed from a cuſtome of the ἱερεῖα κοπὶς, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians alſo, who wen they ſpied any thing in the *victims*, that ſeemed to portend ill to their Countrey, uſed to pray, εἰς κεφαλὴν ταῦτα τραπέσθαι, that *it might returne upon the head of the beaſt*. the like perhaps is uſed in the Hebrew, *viz.* ישב בראש in ſeverall places of the Scripture, and it puts me in mind of that ſaying in *Seneca*, *Quis non ſi admoneatur ut de ſuis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen reſuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipſius intempeſtivi monitoris abire illa jubeat*: inſteed of this ſometimes they would ſay* εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοὶ, *dii monuerint meliora*. ſometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech ſpeech heard while they did ſuch a thing, they would doe it *another way*; or doe it *again*, as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebodies ſpeaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground and call'd for another chip.

Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1. Kings 2. v. 44. &c.

* *Moſch. Idyl.* 2.

Things ominous ſome of them were in the parties own body, and thoſe were either 1. *Markes*, ſuch as ἐλαίαι *ſpots* like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ. 3. Πταρμοὶ. παλμικὰ διανίσματα, were ſuch as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muſcles, call'd in Latine *Saliſſationes*, & βόμβος or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the *right* eare, it was as good as the palpitation of the * *right eye*. of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*: and *Poſidonius* another (ſaies *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν διανισμα.

* Ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμὸς μοὶ ὁ δεξιός. *Theocr. Id.* 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*. ὃ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγοῦμαι, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems: which was the reaſon ſaith * *Athenæus*, that they abſtain'd from eating the *braine*, out of which the ſneezing came: as alſo the cauſe of that uſuall prayer or ſalutation Ζεῦ σῶσον, at a ſneezing: according to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe,

* L. 2.

as

as if it had ſtood ſo farre out, that he could not heare himſelfe when he ſneezed.

Οὐδ' λέγει, ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ὃ γὸ ἀκούσι
Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ γὸ ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneez'd at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo litle *ſenſe* himſelfe, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *after-noone* it was a good omen, but ill in the morning, and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Probleme*. if a man Sneez'd at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man, then beware all is not *right*; but if it happened on the other hand, all was well; if I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα γ πταρμὸς ὀν δεξιὸν ἐσήμηνε. ſuch a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a Generall; but another while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to *them* ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were faine to nuncupate a publike vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his returne, and revenging himſelfe of his enimies

Plutarch. de dæmon. Socrat.

Ὡς φάτο, πολέμαχός τε μέγ' ἔπταρεν ---- and ſo *Penelope* took it; for (ſaith ſhe, laughing and rejoycing) οὐκ ἀεκὰς ὔμιν ὅδε ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔοικεν, and the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome* σωτειῶδες, which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides* when he added ὅτι γὸ Σωτεία τι ἡ γέλως ἔοικεν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long agoe ſlighted

ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort: for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the ſouldiers happened to ſneeze, as he was going on ſhipbord, being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the ſhip, burſt out a laughing and ſaid πῶον γὰρ σύσημα εἰ πεσόντων ἑξακισχιλίων ἓς ἑνὸς ἔσται; *what great omen can it be for one man to ſneeze when there be ſo many together.* but among the *Romans* a great deale more, for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſcipiamus, & pedis offenſio nobis, & corrigiæ alligatio, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.* L. 2. de Divin.

Ominous *actions* or *accidents* were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much us'd, to take a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing, and carry it home *bonæ ſcevæ gratiæ*, as we ſay, *for the lucky ſake.* this piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of * ὑγίεια *ſanitas.* If in Sacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlvcky *accident:* this obſervation the Romans call'd *caducum auſpicium.* 2ly At a *Feaſt* this action was lucky, to crowne the cup with a Garland ---- *pateram & Coronâ Induit.*

The reaſon (ſaies *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a circle, τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστα σχήματα ἐν τύλικά ἐστι καὶ πολυχώνια, *which is the moſt complete figure of all, and holds moſt.* Unlucky *accidents* were ſuch as theſe, *viz.* The coming in of a ſtrange black dog, the creaking of the Table, the ſpilling of Wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a Book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a ſudden ſilence. In putting on of the clothes the right ſide muſt be ſerv'd firſt; and therefore if a ſervant had but given his Maſter the *left* ſhooe firſt, he was ſure to have * it. and thus much at *Home.* *Abroad* they had for their omens συμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλους ὄρνιθας. that is (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt*) τὰ πρῶτα ξυναντῶντας *occurſacula, any thing that met them firſt.* of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books

* Ὑγίεια ἀλφὰ ὕσιν καὶ ἰλαὸν πεφυραμένα, καὶ πεῖν τὸν ὃν τῷ δεῖπνῳ φερόμενον, ὅπερ μύρον, ὅπερ θαλλὸς. ſaies *Heſychius.*

* ὁ ὀκτὼς ὁ μαζὸς τὰ ἐπινίκια ὀπίσω πρὸς ἄρξῃ τὰ δεξιὰ. *Chryſoſtom.* * *In Ariſtoph. Av.* *Suidas.*

If a Snake lay ſo in the way as to part the company; or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs; O! theſe things were δυσάντητα, δυσιώνιστα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια θεάματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable ſights. So if a man hapned to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, ἀπὸ πόδα ἀπαίρειν, ſaith *Lucian*, he muſt ſtand forty foot off. nay if we meet with but a Weezle or ſuch a creature in the croſſe way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for all this day. and *Artemidorus will give you a reaſon why a ζαλῆ ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his * διεκδρομῆ or running by, becauſe (forſooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignify the ſame number, *viz.* 42. but if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the courſe of *juſtice*? perhaps it was only then when they omitted that uſuall ceremony of leading her about the houſe for a *luſtration* to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more ſorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will ſufficiently teſtify what regard the Grecians had of ſuch bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himſelfe had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens μαντικὴ ἀπὸ κληδόνων. ſo likewiſe at *Smyrna* he had his κληδόνων ἱερὸν in *his Temple*, for omens too (ſaies *Pauſanias*) where the faſhion was for him that came for an omen, firſt to whiſper his queſtion in the *Idol's* eares, and then preſently ſtopping his own, to goe forth of the temple, and the firſt voyce he heard after he came out muſt goe for the Oracle. And ſo much of divining by a conjecture by art, one word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

Lucian.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

* L 3.

* *Plutarch de Philadel.*

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

In Eliacis.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſaies) *temeritas & caſus non ratio & conſilium valet*: for though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give the ſignification. it was *invented* by *Minerva*, only *Jupiter* took away her *credit* to make the better trafling for *Apollo*. *Caſting* or *drawing* lots, was either with ἀστράγαλοι or *tali caſt* into a box, or with *teſſeræ* (γεγμματεῖα * *Plutarch* calls them) little woodden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with markes upon them for the names, ſometimes taken out of a pot, and ſometimes thrown into a well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the wooden tables, that they were uſed in the Temple of *Hercules* Βουλαῖος *in Achaia*, and the like (they ſay) were uſed by the *Parliament of Five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhew to which of the tenne Courts every Judge was to goe (together with the Image of a rod the Enſigne of Mercury, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſigne of *Alpha*, and they that had the reſt, to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (*which* I know not) was ſo much us'd by the *Thriæ*, (the *three Nymphs* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thriæ* came to be uſed for *ſortes lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ δειλοβολοι παῖζι ἢ τὰ μάκαιρα ἄδρας.

Calculi were very much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *Wreſtling matches*, and the like, though (it ſeems) in *Cicero*'s time not ſo much. *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus? cæteris vero in locis planè refrixerunt.*

* *In Fabio.*

* *Deiis ſupra.*

L. 2. *de Divin.*

In their *Wrestling-matches*, I have read that they had a silver pot called the κάλπις, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigness of a bean, according to the number of the men; two with one marke; and those that happned to draw the *same* marke were to Wrestle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔφεδρος) was to *come in at Kings* (as we say) or to wrestle last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *Judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another * already: but that they were us'd also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Aristophanes in Pace*: for by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgement was revers'd, the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first, and he that drew first was commonly call'd by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the ships in a storme, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over bord for a κάθαρμα. thus *Eustathius* saies the lot fell to * *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. and so in most of the Temples that were resorted unto for Oracles there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lotts* and a table of purpose to *throw* for it, after the receiving of the answer; for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τὸν ἀστράβον, ἀποπλανήσῃ τὸν ζῆν: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀποπλανήσῃ (saies the Σ upon *Pindar*) *if I throw such a cast the Prophesy will be fulfill'd, if I doe not, it will not.* nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and crosse waies they had their *sortes viales* (ἀγυιάτις συμβόλους *Æschylus* calls them and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans: for the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuts about him, with severall inscriptions, and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw, and if that which came forth agreed with that which he had in his mind, it went for as good a Prophesy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus* Eleg. 1.

Pag. 118.

* *L.* 7.

* *Pyth. Od.* 4.

Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Rettulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artemi-

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of οἱ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεις, diviners in the *Market*. the originall of this divination *Plut.* in his book *de Iſide & oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. for when *Typhon* had put *Oſiris* in a cheſt and thrown him into the Sea, *Iſis* as he was wandring too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they ſhew'd him the place. ἐκ τούτου τὴν παιδικὴν φανερὰν ἐσχὺν δύναμιν ὀίεσθαι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ μάλιστα ἔτι τόπων. Κληδόνα παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ἃ τύχοιεν. Beſides theſe waies already mention'd, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt Verſes they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called στιχομαντεῖαν, or βαψωδομαντείαν, and of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of, and *Virgilianæ*, which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſtick't to practice the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* ἀνοίξων ἔτυχε δεῖν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐπ' οἰκείων ἀπειλῶν. and thus *Heraclius* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counſell out of the New Teſtament, καὶ εὗρεν ἐπιτρέποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ διαχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. ſometimes they would make choyce of diverſe fatidicall verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Aug. l.4. Confeſſ. c.3.* makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poetæ cujuſpiam longe aliud canentis atq; intendentis, cum ſortem cuis contulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpe verſus exiret*, and this way they ſay that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. but thus much may ſuffice of κλῆρος *ſortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *ſingular* number, is many times meant the hint or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did. τὸ σημεῖον τὸ δοθὲν τῆς μαντοσύνης ἀφ' ὅτου μάντεις ἐρημώθησαν καὶ ἐπεσπεύσθη τοῦ τίνος μᾶλλον ἦσαν *in Euripid. Hippol.*

For the Diviners themſelves, *Vates* or μάντεις, as they did but little better then *faine* like Poets; ſo they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Lawrell about their heads, as the Poet * ſaies of *Caſſandra* * Χλωραχόμω κρᾶτα δάφνας κοσμηθεῖσαν. for why *—venturi præſcia laurus.* the Lawrell they took to be a thing of ſpeciall and ſoveraigne virtue, both to ſet a man a Prophecying, (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεσπέσιον δάφνην) and to preſerve him from any evill; and therefore very much us'd in Luſtrations, inſomuch that they would commonly have the ſtaves they carried in their hands, to be made of the Lawrell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publike* perſons. Χρησμολόγοι μετεῖχον· ἦ ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἐτίθεντο, ſaies the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* there was one more *noted* Fraternity of them called the μυτάδαι· ἔδει τι ἡ φρατρία μάντεων, ſaies *Heſych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis.* the eldeſt was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*, the next of *Athens* (he that cur'd the *Lacedemonian* women of their *madneſſe*) and the youngeſt of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* (of *Locris* ſome ſay) otherwiſe called Κόλπις, and Ἀλήτης. anſwering to theſe three *men*, the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* (in *Irene*) ſaies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sibylla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca.* but the firſt (I believe) had moſt of the *Spirit of Python, and brought her Maſter moſt gaine by Southſaying.*

* *Eurip. Iphig. in A. v. 757.*
* *In Androm.*
* *Acts c. 16. v. 16.*

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill already, I muſt be forced to doe more yet, and excuſe one fault with another. for my deſire is to leave

leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to doe it* (*and* drawn *I was*) *were* three, *such as twisted together I could by no means break.* viz. *First the Importunity of my friend* 2 *The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customes, for the understanding of Authors, and* 3. *The hopes which I had, by Employment* (*as by an* Issue) *to divert my humor of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it* no better *are as many.* viz. *First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my* Tyrocinium (*when I took more delight in these studies*) *as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited.* 2. *Want of health.* and 3. *Want of time and leasure being call'd*

away

away by occaſions that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be diſobeyed. If yet I have given thee but a little light, and my labour and oyle be not all loſt, I have as much as I deſir'd my ſelfe, and thou haſt no more then I owed thee.

Μέσον ἔτος ἀπῖος ὄλ' ἐκγρ⊖; Ἐιεκριάτης
Μετάρσι ὦχα δύω, Πατέρας δ' ὄγε, Σῶμα γὸ ἄλλος
Ἄλλ⊖ ἑδυτα ψυχλῶ, εἵπερ ψυχὴ ἐπετελέχεμ.
Ἦ σὺ, Πόπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ σεῖν πόρωμα, τετάξω.
Εὖγε, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἀὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀποσπόδυσι Σκυδιερ κεκρυμμένα τέρρᾳ.

Ἐκδύσω οἰκὶ νέᾳ τὶ νέον; τέρος, ὄρκος, ἔρωτες,
Θρίστεχ, λεχρὶ. Ἰκὶ), Μαστσύνη. ΠΟλεμος.

FINIS.